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THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

SELECTED SPORTS AND CANADIAN SOCIETY 1921-1939

by

© RONALD S. LAPPAGE

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH
IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE
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EDMONTON, ALBERTA
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FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research, for acceptance, a thesis entitled SELECTED SPORTS AND CANADIAN SOCIETY 1921-1939 submitted by RONALD S. LAPPAGE in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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ABSTRACT

The main purpose of this study was to examine the trends in the development of Canadian sport from 1921 to 1939 and to relate these trends to the existing economic, political and social conditions of the period.

Initially, the regional development of sport in Canada was examined. Western Canada was broken into the two regions of British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces while Eastern Canada was divided into three regions--Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces. The outstanding features of sport in each of these regions were studied with emphasis placed upon the extent of American and British influence and the effect of climate upon sport. Regional differences and similarities were discussed, and the relationship between sport and regional animosity towards Ontario was investigated.

It was found that, although advancements in communication systems created a greater Canadian awareness of sport in other parts of the country, inter-regional competition was usually restricted to national championship events because travel by road or rail was slow and expensive. Instead, each region looked to the adjacent area of the U.S.A. for regular competition. When East-West competition did occur intense interest was generated, especially if the eastern team was from Ontario. This wealthy industrial province was the scapegoat for many of the economic and social ills that plagued the country during the inter-war period, and through sport the other regions could express their hostility in a socially

acceptable manner.

In order to account for the trends noted in the first part of the thesis, and to illustrate and explain other trends not previously mentioned, the most significant factors affecting the development of sport within Canada during the 1920's and 1930's were examined. The factors investigated were technology, urbanization, religion, education, the depression, and the commencement of World War II. Under these headings several trends in Canadian sport such as the movement towards indoor sport, the increased involvement of women in sport, the growth of professional and commercial sport, the expanding role of schools and universities in sport, and the increased participation in sport during the depression were studied.

Finally, the role of sport in Canada's relationship with other countries was discussed. Here it was seen that, in contrast to Canada's isolationist policy in foreign affairs, this country's involvement in international sport increased during the two decades under investigation. In particular, sport played an important part in maintaining Canada's tie with Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth. The growth of American influence in Canada was readily apparent in sport, for Canada followed in the footsteps of its neighbour to the south.

PREFACE

This dissertation is the fourth in a series of theses written at the University of Alberta covering the history of selected sports in Canada from 1807 to 1939. Lindsay[1] studied the 1807 to 1867 period, while Cox[2] examined the era from 1868 to 1900, and Jones[3] researched the 1900 to 1920 time period. In each of these primary studies sports were categorized under headings such as summer sports, winter sports, aquatic sports, and equestrian sports, and a brief history of each activity was written. The latter chapters in these theses included discussions of outstanding features of sport during the respective time period. This structure was suitable for the study of sport in Canada prior to 1900, for sports were somewhat limited both numerically and geographically. However, by 1900 the number of sports had increased considerably, and in most areas of Canada organized sport was played. For this reason, Jones[4] encountered the problem of "information overload". There simply were too many sports to cover adequately within one thesis and yet still include extra sections on noteworthy features of sport during the 1900 to 1920 time period.

By 1921 sport in Canada had expanded even more, and therefore it was decided to deviate from the established format. Whereas the first three dissertations were primary studies with emphasis placed upon descriptive material, this thesis is of a more interpretive nature. Only those sports which best illustrated a particular trend in the pattern of sport have been discussed. For instance, the majority of the discussion on the development of professional sport in Canada centres around hockey, football, and baseball. Much of the descriptive material on sport is included in

Chapters II and III where the regional development of Canadian sport is examined, but each sport is not discussed under a separate heading. In Chapters IV and V the most significant factors affecting the development of sport during the 1920's and 1930's are studied, and where possible, the trends are related to the existing economic, social, and political conditions in the country.

One might ask why the dates 1921 and 1939 have been chosen. Jones[5] concluded his thesis at the end of 1920, and therefore this thesis commences in 1921 to continue the sequence. In actual fact, there is some attention given to sport in Canada prior to 1921, but the majority of the study deals with the 1920's and 1930's. The start of World War II in 1939 is a logical termination date. World War II had traumatic effects upon the social, economic, and political conditions in Canada and the entire world. Since this thesis is intended to relate the trends in the development of sport to the social, economic, and political changes in Canada, the sudden transition in all these aspects created by World War II in itself justifies 1939 as the terminal date. To fortify the above statement, after the first year of the war sport also underwent considerable change with the cancellation of some leagues, the halt in international competition, and the increased military role in sport.

Berkhofer has stated:

> Whether the historian uses the term decade, generation, era, epoch, or period, he conceives of the number of years under consideration as possessing a certain unity so that the time span designated is not purely arbitrary. Thus, for example, the decade of the 1920's or the 1930's in American history like the eighteenth or nineteenth centuries in European history convey to the historian a cluster of meanings beyond the mere numerical reference of ten or a hundred years.[6]

Similarly, in Canadian sport history the 1920's and 1930's bear special significance and provide a logical time period for study.

Much of the data used in this thesis was gleaned from newspapers and magazine articles written during the period under investigation. A major newspaper from each of the five regions of Canada was examined in detail while other newspapers were also used for verification of certain points. It was assumed that the popularity of a particular sport was indicated by the frequency and extent of newspaper coverage. Furthermore, sportswriters often indicated trends in sport through their analytical commentaries. In this respect the articles appearing in Maclean's Magazine and National Home Monthly were especially useful because sports journalists such as Henry Roxborough, Elmer Ferguson, Ted Reeves, and J. Lewis Brown frequently discussed controversial issues in sport. Other sources utilized were books, papers, theses, correspondence, interviews, minutes of meetings and reports. Unfortunately, statistics on sport during the inter-war period were rarely available. Very seldom were statistics found regarding the number of participants, gate receipts, admission prices, and travel expenses.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Peter L. Lindsay, "A History of Sport in Canada, 1807-1867" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969).

[2] Allan E. Cox, "A History of Sports in Canada 1868-1900" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1969).

[3] Kevin G. Jones, "Sport in Canada - 1900 to 1920" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970).

[4] *Ibid*.

[5] *Ibid*.

[6] Robert F. Berkhofer, *A Behaviorial Approach to Historical Analysis* (Toronto: Collier-Macmillan Canada, Ltd., 1969), p. 226.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my appreciation to the many people who have co-operated with me in producing this thesis. To Dr. M. L. Howell, my original chairman, I give thanks for inspiring my initial interest in the study of sport history and for his guidance during the initial stages of this project. When Dr. Howell left the University of Alberta, Dr. P. L. Lindsay graciously assumed the role as my chairman and kindly gave of his time in providing assistance.

Upon Dr. Lindsay's departure for Australia, Dr. R. G. Glassford willingly became my chairman. As the head of my committee during the final stages of this thesis, he exhibited his well-known qualities of co-operativeness, kindness, understanding, and patience. To him I express my sincere gratitude. I am equally thankful to Dr. G. Redmond, Dr. R. S. Patterson, and Dean Van Vliet for sitting upon my committee and offering their scholarly advice. My appreciation is also extended to Dr. K. Jones who acted as external examiner.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

During the time period 1921 to 1939 there were many economic, social, and political changes that affected the development of sport in Canada. After the First World War there was a short post-war boom followed by a three year slump in trade. A rise in prosperity began in 1923 and lasted until the 'great crash' in late 1929.[1] By 1933, at which time almost one-quarter of the labour force was unemployed,[2] Canadians had sunk to the depths of despair as a result of the depression. A gradual transformation to normal economic conditions occurred in the ensuing seven years of the decade.

Not all regions of Canada experienced the same degree of economic prosperity or depression. During the post-war growth the most striking advance was not in the prairie West but in the North, particularly in the semi-barren Canadian Shield. The northern development chiefly benefited the provinces of Ontario and Quebec and the powerful business interests concentrated in those regions. A great mining empire was built in northern Ontario, but its connections generally ran north and south, strengthening regionalism, rather than encouraging an East-West liaison within Canada.[3]

In addition to mining, other industries such as lumbering, pulp-and-paper, and hydro-electric power developed during the boom period of the 1920's. And yet, although the economic life of the whole country unquestionably grew richer and more varied, the bounty of the post-war period seemed unequal in its distribution, partial in its reward, and disintegrating in some of its consequences. Wheat had proven itself to be a force in favour of national unity, but the new staples almost seemed to encourage the unfortunate trend towards regional divisions. In the pre-war age, wheat had been the one great staple, about which the economic life of the nation had centred; but by the early 1920's there were several distinct, staple-producing regions, each with its own important export specialty or specialities, each with its regional interests in markets outside Canada, each with its individual successes and misfortunes. While some provinces, such as Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia.profited greatly from such new enterprises, others, like Manitoba and Alberta, benefited only moderately, while Saskatchewan depended largely upon the old staple, wheat. Nova Scotia's coal and steel industry and her fisheries had declined in importance, and shipping had been diverted from the Maritime Provinces to the St. Lawrence River ports.[4] These regions were relatively untouched by the new industries and trades; thus the division was sharpening between the "have" and "have-not" sections of Canada.[5]

In 1900, British investment had amounted to 85 per cent and American to only 14 per cent of all non-resident capital invested in Canada. By 1930 the position had been radically altered. British investment had declined to 36 per cent of the whole, and American had risen to 61 per cent.[6] These figures leveled off during the 1930's but it was evident that the U.S.A. was playing an increasing role in the Canadian economy, and the American branch plants had arrived to stay.

After 1929 the depression hung over the entire country, but its effect was very unevenly distributed. The prices of manufactured goods declined much less seriously than those of raw materials. Hence the heavy burden of the depression was borne largely by the unemployed of the industrial centres, and by fishermen, lumbermen, and farmers. Many middle-class families suffered relatively little, while an increased urban working class bore the brunt of lowered wages and unemployment created by business policies designed to protect prices rather than jobs. Even so, the Atlantic provinces and the prairies undoubtedly were the most severely affected in Canada[7] with the greatest impact being felt by those in the wheatlands of the West. Prairie farmers lost not only their markets, but also their crops for they were beaten down by the blows of drought, soil-drifting, and rust as well as the depression.[8]

From 1921 to 1939 there were also many social changes in Canada. The 1921 census indicated that 50.48 per cent of Canadians were rural dwellers and 49.52 per cent were considered urban dwellers.[9] Later in the 1920's the Dominion's urban population exceeded the rural, and most of the urban dwellers were found in the two main industrial provinces of Ontario and Quebec.[10] In addition, Canada acquired new citizens through a high post-war rate of immigration which peaked in 1929 at 165,000.[11]

Transportation systems rapidly expanded with the provinces taking on an increased program in paving highways[12] and with the railroads extending their branch lines into isolated territory. The number of motor vehicles registered in Canada tripled in the decade from 1920 to 1930, and hence necessitated a transformation of the extent and character of the nation's highways.[13]

During the 1920's there were some preliminary attempts at establishing a social security program. The Old Age Pensions Bill, which was vetoed by the Senate in 1926, was passed the following year; but at this point the social security legislation of the Liberal government ceased abruptly. The provinces began to expand their own health and welfare securities; they carried the burden of technical and occupational education; and they were engaged in promoting the growth of their forests and mining frontiers, in laying down a costly network of paved highways, and in sponsoring great hydro-electric power utilities.[14]

Also, during the 1920's women demanded 'equal rights' and continued to demonstrate that they merited equal status with men. While women struggled for their "liberation" Temperance Leagues fought for prohibition, but before the end of the 1920's all provinces in Canada had government controlled sale of alcoholic beverages.

Progressive Education which began in the U.S.A. as part and parcel of that broader program of social and political reform called the Progressive Movement, reached Canada during the inter-war period.[15] It led to a child-centred approach to education at the elementary school level. Furthermore, improved health services, increased extra-curricular activities, educational radio broadcasts, and adult education programs were all part of the new progressive approach to education that was introduced into Canada.

Sport, itself, was an aspect of Canadian social life that underwent considerable change. The growth of professionalism and "shamateurism" to the detriment of amateur sport, the move towards indoor activity, and the intensified rivalry between East and West were but a few of the trends in Canadian sport that were evident.

With the stock market crash in 1929 there was a rapid transition in Canadian social conditions. Urban centres, which had grown rapidly in the 1920's remained virtually static in the 1930's.[16] As unemployment increased single men went to the work camps throughout Canada where they worked on projects such as building highways. Others could be seen as long lines of forlorn men at city soup-kitchens or riding on the tops of freight cars as they rode hopelessly about the country in search of non-existent jobs.

The unemployed depended upon relief for survival, and provincial governments were unable to supply such relief to the hundreds of thousands of unemployed and impoverished victims of the depression. Thus, the Federal government was forced to assist with subsidies.[17] From 1930 to 1937 the total cost of direct relief works approached a billion dollars.[18]

After 1930 immigrant arrivals diminished to levels which had not been seen since the 1860's. Emigration also declined, for Canadians, who had always in the past been welcomed in the United States, now found their entry restricted. Even so, there was a net loss by migration during the 1930's.[19]

Any advancements made in transportation were the result of relief projects such as the highway work camps. In 1937, partly as a relief construction project, Trans-Canada Air Lines was chartered as a public corporation to operate inter-city, transcontinental and international flights.[20] Earlier in the decade (1932) Parliament had passed an act establishing the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission (renamed the C.B.C. in 1936). Although scarcely an anti-depression move, the development of public control over the airways was symptomatic of the new sense of national purpose that had developed as a result of widespread discussion of the problems occasioned by the economic crisis.[21]

Political changes during the 1921 to 1939 period were also extensive. Federal politics during the period were dominated by Mackenzie King and the Liberals with the exception of a five year interval from 1930 to 1935 during which R. B. Bennett led the Conservatives to office. By 1921 the Progressive political movement had gained momentum in the West with the United Farmers' parties dominating provincial politics. During the depression new political parties, with regional interests grew up--the Social Credit in Alberta, the C.C.F. in the entire prairie region, and the Union Nationale in Quebec.[22] Of these three new parties only the C.C.F. could be considered as a new national party. The Liberals proved to be the middle-of-the-road party, and for much of the inter-war period they governed Canada not so much on their own strength but rather through the weaknesses of their foes. The period from 1921 to 1939, then, witnessed a change in the whole balance of the Canadian federal system, which made the Dominion government much weaker and the provincial governments far stronger than the Fathers of Confederation had intended.[23]

In foreign policy, Mackenzie King wished to gain complete national status for Canada. There was a feeling in post-war Canada that the problems of Europe and the rest of the world were remote, that even the problem of a common imperial foreign policy was no longer of concern, and that all that mattered for the Dominion was the achievement of complete freedom in international affairs.[24] Preliminary assertions of independence in connection with the Treaty of Lausanne in 1922, the Halibut Treaty in 1923, and at the Imperial Conference in 1926 finally led to the Statute of Westminster of 1931, by which Canada gained Dominion national status. Canada adopted isolationist policies and opposed the League of Nations' proposed collective security, for Canadians considered themselves away from the danger of war, and hence wished to remain uninvolved in world affairs.

Relations with the United States had been satisfactory since at least from the beginning of the First World War, for the citizens of both countries had been building such a friendship from the 1870's on. Nevertheless, during the 1920's and early 1930's there was evidence of anti-American sentiment which did not wane until Franklin D. Roosevelt came to the presidency in 1933 and adopted a "good neighbour" policy with Canada.

Although Canada severed her colonial relationships with Britain in 1931, she remained closely tied to Britain economically and traditionally. In 1932, when the depression led Britain to abandon free trade, a system of empire preference at last became possible, whereby Dominions could give British goods lower rates in their tariffs in exchange for similar preferences in the British tariff. After 1935 when Mackenzie King returned as prime minister, Canada maintained her basic policy of protection, as well as empire preferences, but also reduced duties on about one-half of her American imports in return for similar treatment by the United States.[25]

As may be observed from this brief summary of Canadian history from 1921 to 1939, Canada underwent extensive changes, from a prosperous booming colony to a nation sunk in the despairs of depression. It is in this setting, now, that the trends in the development of Canadian sports will be examined and these trends related to the existing economic, political, and social conditions.

In general the following definition of sport will be adhered to, but when it is felt that a pastime plays an important role in Canadian sport development it will be included.

Sport: a game or pastime involving gross bodily movement which has been developed in order to provide regular competitive physical activity governed by constituted rules.

Pastime: any play activity in which there is an absence of competition, and which may or may not have temporary rules and takes place outside fixed boundaries of time and space.[26]

The following questions functioned as guidelines, providing direction to the research:

1. Did the interaction with the U.S.A. in sport contribute to the regional development of sport within Canada?
2. With the transition from a rural to an urban population in Canada was there a corresponding increased interest in and emphasis upon professional sport, particularly in those areas of Canada with high urban population densities?
3. What role did improved transportation and communication systems play in the development of sport within Canada?
4. During the depression was there an increased participation and interest in low-cost sports and a decreased participation and interest in more expensive sports?
5. As Canada sought and achieved autonomy did sport become an important

vehicle for maintaining traditional ties with Britain and the Empire?

6. Did Canada adopt an isolationist policy in international sport just as she did in foreign affairs?
7. As Canada's economic dependence upon the United States heightened was there a corresponding increase in American influence upon Canadian sport?

FOOTNOTES

[1] J. M. S. Careless, Canada: A Story of Challenge (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963), p. 351.

[2] Donald Creighton, Canada's First Century 1867-1967 (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), p. 204; hereafter referred to as Canada's First Century.

[3] Careless, op. cit., p. 354.

[4] H. Shane, "Canadian Disunion," The Dalhousie Review, Vol. XVIII, 1938-39, p. 158.

[5] Donald Creighton, A History of Canada (Cambridge, Mass.: The Riverside Press, 1958), p. 477; hereafter referred to as A History of Canada.

[6] Creighton, Canada's First Century, p. 181.

[7] Ibid., p. 206.

[8] Creighton, A History of Canada, p. 489.

[9] W. L. Morton, "The 1920's," in The Canadians 1867-1967, ed. by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), p. 211.

[10] Careless, op. cit., p. 352.

[11] Ibid., p. 351.

[12] Creighton, A History of Canada, p. 478.

[13] Creighton, Canada's First Century, p. 179.

[14] Ibid., p. 194.

[15] L. A. Cremin, The Transformation of the School (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1961), p. 88.

[16] Creighton, Canada's First Century, p. 206.

[17] Creighton, A History of Canada, p. 492.

[18] Creighton, Canada's First Century, p. 207.

[19] Ibid.

[20] Kenneth McNaught, "The 1930's," in The Canadians 1867-1967, ed. by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), p. 247.

[21] Ibid., p. 246.

[22] Careless, op. cit., p. 362.

[23] Ibid., p. 364.

[24] Ibid., p. 346.

[25] Ibid., p. 370.

CHAPTER II

WESTERN CANADA

British Columbia

> Where the Rockies at last put an end to the Prairie, geography has again created a fertile field for separatist sentiment. On the Coast this takes the form of an apparent apathy towards what the rest of the Dominion thinks or does... . Fruit farmers, in fertile irrigated valleys, are separated from the rest of Canada by huge parallel ranges of rugged mountains through which road, river and railroad have painfully carved a way. A blockage in the Fraser Canyon--where run both transcontinentals and the road--would only serve to italicize the isolation of British Columbia, for the natural movements of men and goods are to the north and south. On the coast itself, in a wet and steamy atmosphere, and amid vegetation of an almost tropic profusion, a seafaring people once more has its back on Canada. It faces the Orient; its markets lie on the Coast, in London and Liverpool. The English expatriate enclave in Vancouver Island also looks to London, and Ottawa is regarded as independently American.[1]

During the inter-war period no other province in Canada was as geographically isolated from the rest of the country as was British Columbia. Hence the development of sports in this province was greatly influenced by two countries, the U.S.A. and Britain--the U.S.A. because of her proximity and Britain because of the large proportion of citizens of British descent.

Teams from nearby American cities like Seattle and Portland were frequent visitors to Vancouver, New Westminster, and Victoria, for competition in sports such as bowling, polo, skiing, gymnastics, baseball, golf, lawn bowling, sailing, yachting, rowing, hockey and English rugby. Probably one of the most highly publicized sporting competitions with the American Pacific Coast was the annual rugby match between the

University of British Columbia and either Stanford or the University of California for the World Trophy. This trophy, presented by John Nelson in 1920, on behalf of the Daily World, a Vancouver newspaper, was contested annually from 1921 to 1940, and a very strong rivalry developed between the University of British Columbia and the two American universities.[2]

Throughout the 1920's the Vancouver Polo Club and a team from Kamloops engaged in competition with neighbouring clubs to the south from Seattle, Portland, and Camp Lewis for the Lane International Challenge Cup.[3] Rowers from the Vancouver Rowing Club and the University of British Columbia entered the annual Northwest Pacific Association of Amateur Oarsmen Regatta which was hosted by cities on both sides of the border. As well, the University of British Columbia frequently opposed the University of Washington Huskies in rowing competitions.[4] Each summer athletes from throughout British Columbia as well as from the Northwestern U.S.A. converged upon Kelowna on Okanagan Lake for the Kelowna Regatta to compete in rowing, swimming, and baseball.[5] International yachting regattas were held throughout the summer months with the annual regatta of the Pacific International Yachting Association for the Lipton Cup being of primary importance.[6] The Royal Vancouver Yacht Club and the Royal Victoria Yacht Club also entered regattas of lesser significance for the Isherwood Trophy[7] and the Beaver Cup.[8]

Sporting interaction between British Columbia and the Pacific Coast of the U.S.A. was not confined to the youth, for the British Columbia Lawn Bowling Association hosted an annual international event which drew contestants from American cities like Bellingham, Seattle, Berkeley, Pasadena, Los Angeles, San Diego, Oakland, San Francisco, and Long Beach.[9]

Of all the professional sports in the U.S.A., British Columbia's sportsmen were most interested in baseball. During the famed World Series it was common to see front page headlines in the Vancouver Sun such as "GIANTS EVEN UP WORLD SERIES"[10] or "YANKS WIN OPENER".[11] Indeed, the Vancouver Sun gave extensive coverage on the sports page to professional baseball in the U.S.A. throughout the entire season. Amateur and commercial baseball leagues included cities and towns on both sides of the border, and in 1939 the Western International Baseball League, a professional league including Wenatchee, Tacoma, Yakima, Spokane, Bellingham, and Vancouver was formed.[12]

During the winters of the 1920's cities from both British Columbia and the Northwestern U.S.A. played in the Pacific coast Hockey League founded by Frank and Lester Patrick. Although the league was initially composed of three British Columbia teams--the Vancouver Millionaires, the Victoria Artistocrats and the New Westminster Royals--it was not long before teams in Washington and Oregon were included in the league. In 1914 Portland took over New Westminster's franchise while in 1915 a new team was started in Seattle. Near the end of World War I support in Victoria dwindled and the team was transferred to Spokane, Washington, giving the league three American clubs and leaving Vancouver as the sole surviving Canadian organization.[13] By the close of World War I the teams had been juggled about again leaving a three-team league--Victoria, Vancouver, and Seattle. In 1924, the lease held by the Patricks on the auditorium in Seattle expired, and a renewal was denied thus leaving the

Pacific Coast League with only two clubs--Victoria and Vancouver. Patrick then entered these two teams in the Western Hockey League, and when the Regina Capitals had financial troubles at the end of 1924 the Patricks bought the club and placed it in Portland, Oregon, which then gave the Coast three teams in the Western League. At the start of the 1925-26 hockey season Frank Patrick could foresee impending troubles, for hockey salaries were increasing in the National Hockey League and the western towns, with the exception of Vancouver, were proving too small to pay the price for first-class hockey. Finally, in 1926 Frank Patrick sold five clubs (Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Portland, and Calgary) to the National Hockey League for 300,000 dollars, temporarily ending professional hockey on the Pacific Coast.[14]

Although many problems were encountered during this era of professional hockey on the Pacific Coast, there were times during its existence that intense interest was generated in British Columbia, Washington, and Oregon. In 1921, 8,500 fans packed Frank Patrick's arena to see the Vancouver Millionaires defeat the visiting Seattle team 7 to 0.[15] and that same year 10,000 to 12,000 spectators watched each game of the series between the Millionaires and the Ottawa team representing the National Hockey League.[16]

However, the demise of professional hockey on the Pacific Coast did not last long as can be witnessed from the following article in the Vancouver Sun:

> Professional ice hockey in the west was re-born yesterday when interests representing capital in four coast cities organized as the Pacific Coast Hockey League and elected Frank A. Patrick interim president. California interests, while not directly represented, asked for further time in which to prepare. It is a

> certainty that Los Angeles will have at least one club in the new league next winter and San Francisco is more than a probability.
>
> The cities granted franchises in the new league yesterday are: Seattle Skating and Hockey Association; W. J. Coyle, president; Coliseum Company, Portland, A. Neppoch, president; Olympic Ice Company of Tacoma, Joseph Folco, president and the Vancouver Arena Company.[17]

The revived Pacific Coast Hockey League including the Vancouver Lions, the Victoria Cubs, the Seattle Eskimos, and the Portland Buckaroos recommenced competition in 1928,[18] but failed to achieve the same prestigious standard that had existed during the early 1920's. Once again, franchises slipped from one city to another with the Victoria team first relocating in Tacoma,[19] and by 1934 a new league, the Northwestern Hockey League (Seattle, Portland, Vancouver, Edmonton, and Calgary) was in operation.[20]

Although professional hockey on the West Coast was certainly unstable, it did have its time of prestige and glory, particularly during the early 1920's. Without the keen competition and rivalry provided by teams from Washington and Oregon, professional hockey would not have survived as long as it did in British Columbia.

Sportsmen and women in British Columbia relied extensively upon the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. for competition in a wide variety of sports including hockey. Furthermore, British Columbia sports fans followed American professional sport with interest as newspapers in their province devoted large portions of the sports page to "pro" sport south of the border. In fact, it seemed that with the proximity of the U.S.A. to the major centres of British Columbia along the Pacific coast sport could almost function there independent of the rest of Canada.

In addition to the American influence in the development of sport in British Columbia there was a strong British tradition which was reflected, to a great extent, in the types of sports that proved to be popular. Rugby, cricket, soccer, lawn bowling, golf, badminton, sailing, rowing, track and field, and tennis were all sports of British origin that caught the interest of British Columbians. The popularity of sports of British origin was not surprising for a large percentage of British Columbia residents were of British ancestry. Of the 524,582 residents in British Columbia in 1921, 387,513 were of British descent while in 1931 there were 489,923 out of a total of 694,263 people who were included in the same category. Thus, in a period of 10 years there was an increase of almost 100,000 in British Columbia who were of British descent--a figure exceeded only by the province of Ontario whose population was more than 5 times that of British Columbia.[21]

However, one cannot simply attribute the success of British sports in British Columbia to the high percentage of residents of British descent, for climate, too, played an important role. The coastal region near Vancouver which contains the bulk of British Columbia's population has a climate similar to that of England. Vancouver's annual rainfall is high, generally in the range of fifty-nine inches per year and the mean monthly and mean annual temperatures correspond very closely with those of England.[22] An examination of Table I (p. 18) reveals that Vancouver's coldest month is January which has a daily mean of 35.6° Fahrenheit as compared to 6.3° Fahrenheit in Edmonton. Such a climate was conducive to outdoor sports throughout the entire year. This mild climate allied with a strong British influence made British Columbia a haven for English rugby as illustrated in the following article in the Vancouver Sun in 1936:

TABLE I

MEAN DAILY TEMPERATURES IN SELECTED CANADIAN CITIES[23]

Month	Vancouver B.C.	Edmonton Alta.	Prince Albert Sask.	Winnipeg Man.	Toronto Ont.	Montreal P.Q.	Fredericton N.B.	Charlottetown P.E.I.	Yarmouth N.S.
Jan.	35.6	6.3	-4.6	-2.7	22.1	13.3	13.0	18.2	26.8
Feb.	38.3	11.3	0.7	0.7	21.7	13.9	14.9	17.0	25.4
Mar.	42.2	23.2	14.2	16.1	29.0	25.8	26.3	26.6	32.0
Apr.	47.6	40.6	36.6	38.7	41.4	41.6	38.9	36.7	39.9
May	53.9	51.1	49.6	51.8	52.7	55.3	50.9	48.0	48.0
June	59.0	57.2	58.3	62.5	62.6	64.7	59.8	57.6	55.2
July	63.3	61.5	62.8	66.6	68.1	69.6	66.0	65.8	60.7
Aug.	62.3	59.2	59.6	63.0	66.6	66.5	63.7	65.0	60.6
Sept.	56.4	50.0	50.0	54.4	59.2	58.4	55.7	57.6	56.0
Oct.	49.4	41.2	38.4	41.8	47.0	46.6	45.6	47.6	48.8
Nov.	42.7	24.8	19.6	23.0	36.3	33.4	32.8	36.7	40.2
Dec.	38.3	14.6	5.2	7.0	26.3	19.8	19.1	25.2	31.0
Average	49.1	36.8	32.5	35.2	44.4	42.4	40.6	41.8	43.7

> English rugby has been a popular sport in British Columbia since the early days of the province. The presence of British warships in these waters did much to provide competition with the stalwarts of Victoria, Vancouver, New Westminster, and Nanaimo. Brockton Point has been the scene of many great rugger battles and Vancouver has played host to an Anglo-Welsh fifteeen, Australian teams, California teams, the famous New Zealand All-Blacks and the picturesque Maori Squad.
>
> Thirty schoolboy teams play the English code in Vancouver and prove nursuries for the senior organizations. The B.C. Rugby Football Union has planned a "rugger" week during the Christmas holidays when these junior players will be given the limelight....
>
> English rugger is popular with the boys because the equipment is not costly, the game is fast and open and affords opportunities for individual initiative....[24]

Whereas the English rugby or Canadian football seasons terminated by early December in other parts of Canada, rugger was being played at Christmas time and even in January and February along the south coast of British Columbia. The sport had leagues at all age levels, and the schools acted as a feeder system for the senior teams such as the Meralomas, Westminster, Victoria, and the University of British Columbia who competed for the McKechnie Cup,[25] or teams like Ex-King George, Ex-Techs, and Ex-Magee[26] that were composed of players who were teammates during their high school days. English rugby in the British Columbia high schools encountered little conflict of interest with Canadian football until after 1933 when the Canadian game was introduced into the British Columbia school system.[27]

British Columbia was the host to several touring rugger teams including the New Zealand All-Blacks in 1925[28] and 1927,[29] the Australian Waratahs in 1928,[30] the English Northern Union team in 1928,[31] and the Japanese teams in 1930[32] and 1932.[33] Each of these touring teams created intense interest as can be evidenced from the following quotes from the Vancouver Sun:

> Fifteen Maoris from New Zealand, wizards of rugby craft, demonstrated to 3,000 well satisfied enthusiasts at Brockton Point, Saturday afternoon, just why they did so well in England, Wales, and France, when they gave a finished exhibition of the great English pastime in their 33-9 victory over Vancouver All-Stars in the opening game of a series of three.[34]

> Combining a fast and tricky backfield with a powerful forward line, Waratahs, famous Australian rugby team, outscored Vancouver 'Reps' 9-6 before 2,000 wildly enthusiastic spectators at Brockton Point Saturday afternoon in the first game of a series of three with local aggregations.[35]

> While nearly 5,000 people, a large percentage of them from Japan's Flowery Kingdom, looked on in enthusiastic approbation, Japan's University fifteen defeated Vancouver Reps at English Rugby yesterday 22-18, in the first of several contests that will keep the little brown men of the far east in the city for nearly a month.[36]

There appears to be little doubt that the calibre of English rugby in British Columbia was the highest in Canada. Of the twenty-two players selected for the Canadian team to tour Japan in 1931 there were nine Vancouver players, five Victoria players and eight from the rest of Canada.[37]

Similarly, the calibre of track and field in British Columbia was high. Once again, as was the case with rugby, the western province's mild climate combined with the British tradition in sport created conditions suitable for the progress of track and field. Frequent reports in the Vancouver Sun on track and field meets among schools, universities, churches, police athletic associations, and Scottish societies indicated the popularity of the sport in British Columbia.

In spite of the lack of encouragement shown to "British Columbia's wealth of material" in track and field by the "autocratic east" the province sent a large delegation to the Olympic trials held in Montreal in 1924.[38] However, it was not until Percy Williams' outstanding double gold medal performance at the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam that the East started to recognize British Columbia's potential in the sport. The success of the Canadian track and field team and especially the achievements of Percy Williams generated further interest in track and field in British Columbia. The following year, for the first time, a British Columbia High School Olympiad was held under the joint auspices of the Vancouver Exhibition Association and the Vancouver Sun. At this meet 115 individual high school champions, representing 30 high schools from all parts of the province competed in the 14 standard events that made up the Olympic track and field program.[39]

Although unable to match Ontario's output of track and field stars, British Columbia continued to produce outstanding performers:

> Eight years after Percy Williams came out of the West to create track and field history, another school boy from Vancouver, little-limbed Howie McPhee, duplicated his feats by scoring two smashing victories in the Olympic trial sprints today. He led a pair of British Columbians to the tape in both the 100 and 200 metres, in one of the greatest sweeps Pacific Coast athletes have scored in Canadian history.[40]

McPhee failed to win a medal, but still, the fact that he and three other British Columbia athletes (Marshall Limon, Joe Haley, and Margaret Bell[41]) were on the Canadian Olympic track and field team was indicative of the strength of British Columbia in track and field. The mild climate which permitted a long outdoor training season and the general acceptance of track and field were important factors in the success of the activity in British Columbia.

Yet another sport with a strong British tradition that was popular in British Columbia was cricket:

> Since 1889 the game has flourished here, until now there are fifteen senior teams in the city playing Saturday cricket; four competing on Wednesdays; eight junior elevens; four juvenile teams, and four in a preparatory division. In addition, clubs are "going strong" in Victoria, Duncan, Nanaimo, the Okanagan, and other parts of British Columbia, all the results of the efforts to establish the game made by those few enthusiasts shortly after the big fire.[42]

In 1937, the Director of the Provincial Recreation Program in British Columbia, Ian Eisenhardt, reported that the efforts of the Department of Physical Education to interest youngsters in the historic game of cricket were paying rich returns for hundreds of boys were playing the game under "...the expert tuition of F.A.A. Barrs and the venerable Bob Quinn" and through the efforts of the Honorable George Weir, minister of education, cricket was to be introduced into all public and high schools.[43] By 1938 cricket had been introduced into five Vancouver high schools: King Edward, Kitsilano Junior High, Technical, John Oliver, and Magee.[44]

Throughout the summers of the inter-war period cricket received extensive sports page coverage in the Vancouver Sun and The Province, with the British Columbia Mainland Circuit receiving special attention. In general, cricket proved to be a game for participants rather than for spectators; however, special events like the annual North Shore Cricket Week, the tours of visiting British and Australian cricket teams, and the Jubilee Cricket Festival (July 1-9, 1938) attracted large crowds in the range of 4,000 people.[45, 46]

C. R. Foster, writing in The Province in 1937, referred to cricket as a "link of empire":

> In closing, mention shall be made of the great public schools and the universities of England, where the fundamentals of the game are instilled into many of the future greats of cricket.

> Now that it is being taken up to a greater extent in Canada, played in the schools and among the younger generation, it is to be hoped that it will soon be possible to obtain the services of some of the leading Old Country professionals as coaches, so that correct and sound style can be taught. Then, and only then, will Canada be able to take their place alongside the Mother Country, Australia, New Zealand, India, and South Africa in test matches.[47]

Although Canada achieved dominion status by the Statute of Westminster in 1931 she was still bound to Britain emotionally. Cricket in Canada, and especially in British Columbia, was a link in this sentimental tie.

Soccer, too, was a "link of empire" for British Columbia. Newspapers carried daily results of Old Country Association Football as well as reports on local competition. Participation was high as leagues existed for all age groups, and it was common for a senior league game to draw near 4,000 spectators. As with cricket and English rugby, touring teams from different parts of the empire inspired the British Columbia soccer enthusiasts and an intense interest was taken in a visiting team. Eliminations were held throughout the province to determine British Columbia's representative to play for the Connaught Cup, emblematic of senior soccer supremacy in Canada, and when a British Columbia team was successful it was given a resounding welcome:

> Thousands of soccer fans from the lower mainland voiced their admiration of North Vancouver's Dominion championship soccer squad Saturday night at the C.P.R. station in one of the most tumultuous receptions ever accorded a group of athletes here, a welcome which recalled Percy Williams' return from the Olympic Games in 1928.[48]

Even though sports of British origin were predominant in British Columbia there were physical activities introduced and popularized by other ethnic groups in the province. Probably the most noteworthy of these activities was skiing initiated by the Norwegian, Finnish, and

Swedish populations that totaled 19,348 in 1921[49] and 35,906 in 1931.[50] The growth in the popularity of skiing in British Columbia can be judged from the following article from The Province in 1937:

> During the past ten years skiing has grown from the little known pastime of a handful of Scandinavian pioneers to one of Vancouver's major winter sports. Thousands of young Vancouver citizens cross to the North Shore and ski from December to late spring and early summer.
>
> Week-end accomodation ten years ago was confined to one small camp at the Old Mill on Hollyburn Ridge. Since then comfortable ski camps have also been built on the Ridge, one at First Lake and the other at West Lake....
>
> Ski clubs in Vancouver have enjoyed tremendous increases in membership the last few seasons and are now organized into an efficient organization.[51]

British Columbia, with its mountainous terrain and large Scandinavian population, was a natural area for skiing to develop. Vancouver, Prince George, Nelson, and Revelstoke were but a few of the major ski centres in the province. Revelstoke, the little city of the Selkirks, was designated as "the capital of Canada's Alps". The first ski tournament held there in 1914 marked the turning point in the town's history. The event was a great success, and it continued to grow, even during World War I, and soon the tournament became of international importance with skiers from all over Canada and the U.S.A. attending.[52]

British Columbia skiers, especially those of Sandinavian descent achieved a great deal of success internationally during the inter-war period:

> British Columbia is leading the world in ski-jumping since last February, when Henry Hall with his phenomenal leap of 229 feet in the Revelstoke ski hill wrestled the world's honours from Anders Haugen of Dillon, Colorado....[53]

Then, in 1924 Nels Nelson from Revelstoke jumped 240 feet to capture the world's jumping record while on the same day Miss Isobel Coursier, also of Revelstoke, acquired the world's title for ladies by jumping 149 feet.[54] In the 1930's Tormed Mcbraaten and Hans Gunnarson, both from Revelstoke via Norway, were two of Canada's best ski-jumpers with Mcbraaten placing sixth in the jumping event at the 1936 Winter Olympics in Germany.[55]

Although the Scandinavians were given credit for starting skiing in Canada they were under strong criticism during the 1930's for restricting the scope of the rapidly growing sport:

> Both Canada and the U.S. have labored under the disadvantage of having their skiing more or less dominated by Norwegian ideas. After centuries of practice in skiing, Norway has contributed practically nothing new to the sport. They have jumped and run across country, and run across country and jumped, and in these two branches of the sport they are more or less supreme, though frequently challenged in cross country running by Swedes and Finns. Such other nations as have exploited all the aspects of skiing as a sport, instead of as a penance--and thus produced different forms of skiing--have been regarded by the Scandinavians as being eccentric to the point of idiocy, and it was only after a stiff and long drawn-out fight that the International Ski Federation consented to recognize officially the other forms of competition besides jumping and perspiring across country in single file.[56]

It is evident, then, that Canadians of Scandinavian descent were responsible for the introduction of skiing into British Columbia. During the late 1920's other British Columbians also became interested in the sport, with the skiing boom following in the next decade. As more and more non-Scandinavians participated in the popular winter sport there was a movement towards broadening the scope of competitive skiing to include downhill and slalom skiing in addition to the traditional Scandinavian forms of jumping and cross-country.

Another ethnic group which contributed to the development of sport in British Columbia was the Japanese. Of the 700,000 people who lived in British Columbia in 1934 about 24,000 were Japanese with nearly half being Canadian by birth.[57] The Japanese joined in the regular sports activity of the province. For example, a Japanese baseball team, the Asahi Tigers played in a league with Fraser Mills, V.A.C, the Generals, and the Firemen.[58] As well, British Columbia attracted touring teams from the Orient, mainly Japan, and also sent teams for return visits. In 1930 Japan sent a university rugger team to play in British Columbia[59] while in 1932 Canada paid a return visit receiving an overwhelming welcome in Osaka:

> Twenty thousand spectators who overflowed the stands of the beautiful Hanazono field were aroused to the highest pitch of enthusiasm, first by the scintillating play of their team, then by the irresistable Canadian attack, and finally by the brilliant effort that gave the Japanese a last-minute victory.[60]

Also, in 1932 the Rikkio University baseball team from Japan started their continental tour by playing in Vancouver against the all-stars of the Smith-Colgan circuit.[61]

The Japanese contributed to sport in British Columbia by introducing judo to the province and to Canada:

> At present time more than 500 Japanese men and boys are studying judo in Vancouver and its suburbs. The Japanese Athletic Association in the Canadian Coast city is a very flourishing one. In passing through the Japanese colony on Powell street in the evening the pedestrian might have his attention arrested by unusual noises. Dull thuds--bodies falling--the impact of padded mattress. Here, at the home of the Japanese gymnasium, many white spectators frequently watch a class at work.[62]

When the Japanese Association was formed in Vancouver in 1914 there were about 70 enthusiastic devotees of the art of judo, but by 1934 that number had increased to 500.[63] Members of the Royal Canadian

Mounted Police trained under judo instructors like Mr. S. Sasaki, E. Morii, and H. Takahashi, and by 1937 seven members of the "mounties" in Vancouver held the coveted black belt.[64]

Other sports, too, were popular in British Columbia during all or part of the inter-war period. Lacrosse, a sport which had been successful both at the amateur and professional levels in British Columbia prior to World War I, experienced a post-war decline. In 1924 at the annual meeting of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada in Winnipeg the British Columbia branch recommended the reinstatement of professional lacrosse players across Canada:

> The resolution sets forth that professional lacrosse is dead across Canada and it is partly in order to assist it further into the limbo of forgotten things that the amateur heads are inclined to think reinstatement of contrite repentant strayers from the path of the simon pure, is good business.[65]

It was not until the introduction of box lacrosse or "boxla" in the early 1930's that lacrosse experienced an upsurge in British Columbua and the rest of Canada.[66] "Boxla" filtered into Canada by way of Australia where the older form of the game, field lacrosse, had been rennovated into a faster indoor game restricted to the confines of an ice arena.[67] By 1934 lacrosse ("boxla") had reached a popularity in British Columbia, both at the senior and junior levels, not seen since the early 20th century:

> Coast fans are beginning to take their lacrosse seriously--not quite so much as they did when the green shirts and red shirts tangled twenty and thirty years ago--but seriously enough to pack the Forum at Hastings Park and the Queen's Park Arena at New Westminster for every game.
>
> It is only a question of time before those in charge of the promotional end will be forced to obtain larger playing centres to accommodate the thousands who will be clamoring for admittance when any of the senior aggregations are tangling.[68]

In 1935 an All-American team selected from among the stars of the New England colleges travelled to Vancouver to meet the All-Star British Columbia team representing Canada for the Lally Cup, emblematic of lacrosse supremacy between the two countries since 1930:[69]

> They celebrated Dominion Day down at the Arena Monday night when the All-British Columbia team recovered for Canada international supremacy in her own national game--lacrosse--the third time in a row in perhaps the most exciting battle of the series for old Joe Lally's monumental trophy. More than 8,000--the largest crowd to see a lacrosse game in many years--cheered the return of the trophy to its home after a five-year absence in the U.S.[70]

Box lacrosse continued to thrive in British Columbia for the rest of the decade with professional lacrosse returning once again during the spring of 1939 when a league including four franchises: Vancouver, New Westminster, Seattle, and an Indian Team was formed.[71]

Yet another sport that experienced a rapid increase in popularity in British Columbia near the beginning of the depression was the game of softball. Softball could be played "...on large parks, little ones, vacant lots or even on the streets if the traffic was not too heavy...."[72] It was an activity which required little expense and appealed to both sexes, young and old. Softball was played extensively in the many work camps that existed in British Columbia for single unemployed men during the depression and was a major activity in the Provincial-Recreation Program. Although the sport received little coverage in the newspapers it was extemely popular as indicated in Vancouver Sun sportswriter, Andy Lytle's response to a softball player's complaint about the lack of space devoted to softball on the sports page. "It would take the entire editorial staff--the circulation department, most of the accounting staff and both telephone operators to cover softball as you suggest."[73]

Until about 1926 badminton in Canada was confined to a few clubs formed in the garrisons which played in suitable drill halls of the militia's armories. These clubs had small memberships and the public gained little knowledge of the game. In 1925, several badminton clubs outside the armories came into being, and large buildings, especially constructed for badminton were erected. Almost overnight the general public, the people who played golf on public courses and tennis on public and modest courts, sensed that this game was the answer to their needs, a winter pastime which provided recreational exercise. Membership fees and cost of equipment were low. Swiftly on the heels of the big clubs came the smaller clubs with the demand for buildings creating the supply. Barns, dance halls, lodge halls, former skating rinks, and every other adaptable type of building became the home of a badminton club.[74]

By 1935 there were an estimated 50,000 members of badminton clubs in Canada and, in addition, a very large number of players who belonged to no clubs but played wherever they were able.[75] The development of badminton in British Columbia followed a similar pattern as is indicated in the following article from the Vancouver Sun:

> Badminton was once a game played by the few. Today it is enjoyed by the world and the world's neighbour and the neighbour's wife.
>
> They play in indoor playgrounds in Vancouver which range from church basements, transformed woodsheds, to one of the finest badminton arenas in the Dominion.
>
> The latter is, of course, the badminton centre erected by the Vancouver Lawn Tennis Club, adjoining its clubhouse in the 1600 block West Sixteenth Avenue. This arena accomodates eight courts, has a roof that arches over the courts so that no matter how high the shuttle soars from your defensive shots it never is deflected by the roof.
>
> Among the other big badminton centres are the Hill Club, Oak

> Street; Jericho Golf and Country Club's badminton building, which incidentally, houses the only two club squash courts in the city; the V.A.C. at Athletic Park; the new badminton centre created in the old Horseshoe Building on Denman street, and special courts at Hastings Park and in every other gymnasium open to the public.[76]

The New Westminster Badminton Club started in 1926 with 3 courts, by 1928 they had 7, and with the completion of their new addition in 1930-31 they expected to have 12 courts and 150 members.[77] As the number of participants increased so too did the size and frequency of tournaments. In 1935 the Vancouver Championship had to be extended to a four-day period and that same year the first city tournament exclusively for juniors was held.[78] Each year the number of entrants in competitions increased as more and more British Columbians took up the sport.

Like badminton, golf also increased in popularity during the inter-war period. By 1925 there were 380 golf clubs in Canada and an estimated 100,000 Canadians playing the game.[79] This number increased to 700 clubs and approximately 175,000 golfers by 1930.[80] Golf, originally a sport exclusive to the wealthy man, was moving more and more within the reach of the average-salaried man with the construction of public golf courses which numbered 15 in Canada in 1925.[81] The public courses provided "cafeteria" golf whereby golfers participated on a pay-as-you-play basis.

Vancouver built its first public golf course in 1921:

> Thousands of resident golf enthusiasts will read with pleasure the news that at last Vancouver is really going to have a public golf course--and at the Exhibition Grounds in Hastings Park!
>
> Every progressive city in North America now has from one to five public courses, and we knew that some day Vancouver would wake up to the necessity; but who would have expected action to originate

> from the Exhibition Board and our City Fathers? And that reminds us of the new lease of life and activity that seems to be taking place around Exhibition headquarters this spring.
>
> We know that thousands of wage and salaried people who cannot afford to belong to private clubs will be grateful to the Board and also to our City Council for their kind interest in them.
>
> People coming from the Old Country, clerks, accountants, and artisans, long for an opportunity to get out, pay their quarter and have a "round" of golf. This should soon be possible.[82]

Because of the long season, golf was particularly suited to the province of British Columbia, and with the improved facilities it increased in popularity during the 1920's and 1930's. Throughout the summers of 1925 and 1926 the Vancouver Sun carried a series of illustrated articles on "how to play golf" and reports such as the following appeared frequently:

> Nearly 1,000 golfers enjoyed their favorite game over the holiday weekend....[83]

> Golfers in the hundreds swarmed over the local courses yesterday and the divot diggers had a merry time from early morning until darkness put an end to their festivities. Every club reported a record turn out for Good Friday as there was a long line up at the first tee nearly all day....[84]

Basketball was another extremely popular sport in British Columbia throughout the inter-war period. Both men and women participated in the game at various levels from the Sunday School and High School Leagues up to the Senior 'A' level. By 1934 participation in basketball in Vancouver was second only to soccer.[85]

In basketball British Columbia could more than hold her own with the rest of the country:

> First in fishing, first in lumbering and first in basketball! You've guessed it. It's B.C. we're talking about. The supremacy of Canada's fairest province in the hoop sport, as well as in half a dozen other leading industries, was established beyond challenge, for a couple of years at least, when the Daily Province quintette brought the Montreal Sportsmen's Cup to the Pacific Coast for the

> fifth year in ten seasons of Dominion competition this week. Only one other province can approach that record. Winnipeg Toilers won the national title three times for Manitoba; but it will be some time before the prairie metropolis will develop another threat as formidable as that of the distinguished Toiler Machine.[86]

The following year, in 1935, the Victoria Blue Ribbons extended British Columbia's victories to six in eleven seasons of Dominion competition, and even though the Victoria Dominos succumbed to the Windsor Fords in 1936 three British Columbia basketball players (Norm and Chuck Chapman and Doug Peden) were selected to play with the Fords at the Olympics in Berlin. This squad went on to capture a silver medal after losing to the U.S.A. in the finals.[87]

Although six-day bicycle racing did not achieve the same prestigious level as basketball, it was a noteworthy sport in British Columbia, for it seemed to flourish upon the conditions created by the depression. Six-day bicycle races had been popular in Toronto and Montreal since the mid-1920's, but the first race was not held in Vancouver until 1931.[88] The following is a report on this race:

> For three solid hours preceding midnight Saturday 6,000 positively frantic spectators thrilled, shouted and fairly screamed at times as fourteen bike-riders from nearly every corner of the globe jammed madly around the board saucer at the arena in a last minute effort to gain honours in Vancouver's first six-day bicycle grind.[89]

Undoubtedly, the success of British Columbia's "Peddling Pedens", Doug and Torchy, on the six-day circuit was influential in generating public interest in a sport previously confined to Eastern Canada. But also, with increased leisure time enforced by the depression, the unemployed who flocked to the Pacific Coast were able to spend several hours in the arena watching the sprinting and jamming.

Indeed, the depression, accompanied by unemployment and increased leisure time, was responsible for the development of a unique program in British Columbia--the Provincial-Recreation Program--later copied by the other provinces of Canada. The need for training unemployed youths and providing them recreational activities was particularly evident in British Columbia because the province, "by reason of its salubrious climate and general attractiveness" had become "the mecca of those who suffered from misfortunes or ill-health".[90] Throughout the province there had been a legitimate fear that British Columbia might become "just a blamed summer resort for all hoboes in Canada".[91] And justifiably so, for in 1930 freight trains were bringing drifters into British Columbia at the rate of forty to fifty a day. About these transients a Vancouver Sun reporter wrote:

> Vancouver to drifters or "hoboes" is like a flame to moths. They are flocking here, not in ones and twos, but forty and fifty a day.
>
> And the citizens of Vancouver are paying to keep these drifters on relief in the mild winter climate of the Canadian Pacific Coast.
>
> Rumors that this state of affairs existed have been current for some time. Many of these men have turned up at the city relief office and demanded bed and board. Most of them never saw Vancouver until recently....
>
> "Why come to Vancouver in search of work when there are more than 7,000 unemployed single men in the city already?" they were asked.
>
> "Well, at least we won't freeze to death during the winter at the coast, even if we can't get work nor a roof to shelter us," was the gist of the reply.[92]

Fortunately, in 1933 British Columbia elected an ambitious Liberal Premier, T. D. Pattulo, who through his "little New Deal" strongly advocated public works and legislation to curb unemployment. By 1937, Pattullo's government had almost completed the first phase of his "little New Deal" including such policies as the institution of a public works program, improved welfare services, reform of the school system, the establishment of a forty-eight hour week and an increased minimum wage level.[93]

One aspect of Pattullo's "little New Deal" of particular importance to sport was the creation of the Recreational and Physical Education Branch of the Provincial Department of Education in British Columbia. This branch was begun on November 9, 1934 when the Minister of Education, Dr. G. M. Weir, obtained an appropriation of $12,500 for the purpose of increasing physical fitness among youth sixteen years and over for the purposes of maintaining morale and developing work habits and discipline. This scheme was a much needed one and was the first of its kind in the British Empire organized by any government. Both unemployed and employed men and women were eligible for these classes, but the main object of this social experiment was to extend recreational opportunities to those people, who, up to that point, had never had access to such opportunities.

The British Columbia government continued to provide the total cost for this recreational and physical education program until 1937. In 1936, however, the director, Ian Eisenhardt, was called to Ottawa by the Purvis Commission to explain the British Columbia Fitness Program and, as a result, recreation and physical education were included in the four main objects of the Dominion-Provincial Youth Training Scheme which came into effect in 1937. The growth and success of this Provincial-Recreation Program in British Columbia was evident from the fact that enrollment jumped from 2,768 in 1934-35 to 27,072 in 1938-39 while at the same time the number of recreational centres rose from 19 to 155.[94]

The following article from The Province (Oct. 16, 1937) is indicative of the tremendous response to Eisenhardt's "Pro-Rec" program:

> Provincial recreational centres are springing up like mushrooms all over the province, as fast as instructors can be found to take charge of them. The first ones appeared in the winter of 1934-35, last winter there were 58 of them with 10,489 enthusiasts enrolled. There will be 75 and 80 this winter.
>
> The enthusiasm is tremendous. Today, one may go to a large Vancouver theatre at an early morning hour and find men and women doing setting-up exercises in the aisles. Others are doing them at home as 15 minutes of fundamental gymnastics are given over the air by the recreation department.
>
> And while the busy exerciser is too occupied to talk back, the announcer tells her of what is going on in the world of public health and physical education particularly in other B.C. recreation centres....[95]

During its first year (1934-35) the program was confined to Vancouver, New Westminster, Victoria, and Nanaimo but in its second season Prince Rupert, Burnaby, and North Suburbs were brought into the movement. By the third season (1936-37) the "Pro-Rec" program moved into the interior, including such places as Vanderhoof, Prince George, Ashcroft, Kelowna, Penticton, twelve Fraser Valley centres, and all of Vancouver Island.[96]

All instructors had to have a knowledge of: tennis, badminton, soccer, English and Canadian rugby, handball, volleyball, basketball, gym hockey, softball, boxing, wrestling, archery, and track and field. In addition they had to be able to instruct preliminary tumbling, Danish and Swedish gymnastics, and apparatus gymnastics.[97] It is readily evident that the Provincial-Recreation Program under the directorship of Ian Eisenhardt was instrumental in introducing and promoting a wide variety of activities in British Columbia.

The Provincial-Recreation Program was so successful in British Columbia that other provinces soon followed suit. G. Fred McNally, Alberta's Deputy Minister of Education reported the following in 1938:

> For some time we have been observing the very successful Health and Recreation programme being developed in British Columbia. Through the generous co-operation of the Minister of Education of that province, the services of the Director were loaned to Alberta for one week in June. During that time conferences were held with leaders in physical training, recreation programmes and leisure time activities. As a consequence it was decided to launch in the fall a programme modelled after the one which had proved itself on the coast.[98]

In the ten years following the inauguration of the Provincial-Recreation program in British Columbia inquiries were received about the plan from all provinces in Canada, from different parts of the United States, from Scotland, Australia, and South America.[99]

British Columbia, isolated from Ontario and Quebec, harboured a distrust and resentment towards the industrial East throughout the inter-war period. The eastern dominance in both the country's economy and politics disturbed British Columbians immensely. Although not a "have-not" province, British Columbia shared with the Prairie Provinces the opinion that Ontario and Quebec were exploiting the West through unnecessary tariffs, high freight rates, and federal control of wheat prices and the provinces' natural resources. Furthermore, during the depression, British Columbians were disturbed with the influx of unemployed into their province from the rest of Canada and the Federal Government's lack of action in curbing the flow.

This resentment and distrust was also evident in sport. An examination of competitive skiing reveals a great deal of East-West animosity over the organization of this sport during the 1920's and early 1930's. Organized skiing in Western Canada developed more or less separately from any influence of the Eastern Canada clubs of the Canadian Amateur Ski Association (C.A.S.A.) until the mid-1920's by which time the eastern dominated C.A.S.A. had developed sufficient strength and support to suppress efforts of several western clubs who wished to form a second Ski Association based in the West.[100] The ski clubs of the interior of British Columbia at first resisted Mr. R. J. Verne's efforts to organize western clubs to form a western branch of the C.A.S.A. for fear of domination by the larger influential clubs in the East,[101] but in 1928 all agreed to join the C.A.S.A. as a separate western branch.[102] Strong East-West differences continued and threatened to destroy the C.A.S.A. until 1935 when sectional animosities were finally resolved through the passing of a new constitution which adopted the principle of autonomous ski zones acting as functional units within the association.[103]

As already illustrated, British Columbia looked to the U.S.A. for sports competition, and with the exception of the occasional Canadian championship or tour from the East there was little liaison in sport with the industrial heart of Canada. At the 1924 Olympic trials for track and field British Columbia was given very little encouragement to show its wealth of material, and "...the autocratic East as usual couldn't see very much west of Toronto".[104]

The British Columbia branch of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada strongly advocated the relaxation of the reinstatement rules for professional athletes so that the West, whose population was considerably less than the East's, would be able to compete against the East in any of the major sporting events. However the Amateur Athletic Union, dominated by eastern members, rejected British Columbia's proposal.[105]

Further disenchantment with eastern domination in amateur athletics was shown in the following statement:

> If you care to turn your gaze in the general direction of the Canadian East you will readily understand the hopeless depths to which amateurism has fallen officially when Lamb, Crocker, Mulqueen, and Robinson spend fruitless hours calling each other incompetent in a continuation of their many quarrels over in Amsterdam last summer.
>
> The dear old fossils of the A.A.U. go into annual huddle at Port Arthur....[106]

It seemed that eastern officials of the A.A.U. at times became so involved in personal feuds that they ignored western demands for reform in amateur sport.

Although British Columbia generally looked to the U.S.A. and the Prairie Provinces for sports competition, when she did engage in athletic combat with the East there was intense interest:

> It was the last half of the Dominion basketball championship match between the University of British Columbia and the fighting St. Catherine's Grads. Over 5,000 fans were howling for the Blue and Gold from the Western School to retain the national hoop championship. The collegians responded nobly. When it was all over the Montreal Cup had been won by a British Columbia team for the third consecutive season.
>
> A wild demonstration followed. Such pent-up enthusiasm always comes forth when a western team conquers eastern opponents.
>
> Winning a national championship from another western team is one thing; winning from the East is an occasion for great rejoicing.[107]

Through sport British Columbia had a socially acceptable means of temporarily destroying the arrogance of the East.

As has been seen, British Columbia resented eastern domination in sport, and a victory over an Ontario or Quebec team was cause for much celebration. Because British Columbia was isolated from the rest of the country there was considerable interaction with the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. in a wide variety of sports including bowling, polo, skiing, gymnastics, baseball, golf, lawn bowling, sailing, yachting, rowing, hockey, and English rugby. In addition to the American influence in British Columbia sport there was a British tradition in the province which was reflected in the popularity of activities such as English rugby, cricket, soccer, lawn bowling, track and field, golf, badminton, sailing, rowing, and tennis. Furthermore, other ethnic groups promoted sports from their homeland--the Scandinavians contributed to skiing while the Japanese developed judo.

A unique feature of British Columbia, the mild climate along the southern coast, was conducive to the growth of outdoor sport. Nevertheless, there was also a trend towards the increased popularity of indoor activities like badminton, basketball, and box lacrosse. Yet another unique aspect of sport in British Columbia was the development of the Provincial Recreation Program which was an outgrowth of the depression.

By virtue of its geographical isolation from the rest of the country, its mild climate, its strong British tradition, the proximity of its urban centres to the U.S.A., and its feeling of hostility towards Eastern Canada British Columbia was an area of Canada in which the regional development of sport during the 1920's and 1930's was clearly seen.

The Prairie Provinces

> What of the West? Here we are up against a solid geographical fact--the Prairie--which with its flat endless expanse, brilliant blue skies and atmospheric clarity, determines the actions and passions of men. Among these people of the steppes there is little homogeneity save through wheat; for rapid development has brought large contingents of Central Europeans and Americans. Here, too, the 49th parallel seems often merely an arbitrary line; the Prairie unites--it does not divide. The Atlantic, the Pacific, above all, Ottawa, seem very far away indeed.[108]

The three Prairie Provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba) were alike in many ways. They endured the same frigid winter climate; they depended upon wheat production; they despised domination by the East; they were severely affected by the depression; and they shared a common sports heritage.

Like British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces interacted through sports with those states of the U.S.A. that lay immediately to the south. International leagues existed in baseball[109] and hockey[110] while regular competition in the form of tournaments, bonspiels, and exhibition matches were held in bowling, rowing,[111] football, polo, curling, boxing, wrestling, basketball, speed-skating, dog-sledding, skiing, golf, tennis, and softball.

Probably the greatest insight into the influence of the U.S.A. upon sport in the Prairies can be gained from an examination of the changes in Canadian football made in the West. In the mid-1920's Winnipeg football teams started to play exhibition games against colleges and universities from North Dakota. As a result of these exchanges with the American teams several important rule changes were innovated, the most important being the implementation of the forward pass in 1929:

> The West has at last stepped away from the apron strings of Madame East and done something for itself on the gridiron. The season

> 1929 marked a new era in rugby from the Great Lakes to the mighty Pacific, with Winnipeg's grid-minded men leading the attack against the conservatism of Ontario and Quebec.
>
> The Western Canada Rugby Football Union, with President Dr. W. A. Miller and Secretary Dowd at the helm, ventured into the great unknown, pioneered where eastern Canadians feared to tread, and produced, to all intents and purposes, a forward pass that is a success.
>
> Used sparingly at first, the newly adopted "on side pass" created new dangers for defending teams to cope with, speeded up the game with thrills that endeared it to the faithful rugby fans, and finally triumphed when the Regina Roughriders used the pass against Hamilton Tigers to gain the open admiration and approval of all who watched the Canadian final.
>
> The confidence gained by achievement will spur the Prairies and British Columbia to even sterner attacks against the supremacy of the East.[112]

Three years later, the forward pass was adopted for all leagues in Canada at the annual meeting of the Canadian Rugby Football Union (C.R.F.U.) held in Winnipeg on February 28, 1931.[113]

In the 1930's teams from North Dakota continued to compete at an increased rate against the Winnipeg teams in exhibition games. During one month, October of 1933, three such games took place with one half of each game under American rules and the other half under Canadian rules.[114]

As a result of increased interaction with American football it was hardly surprising that other U.S.A. football rules were adopted. Western football authorities were impressed with the crowd-pleasing open-field blocking of the American game and introduced running interference from the American code in 1935:[115]

> Western Canada Rugby Union officials don't care much whether Canadian Rugby Union rule makers adopt the amendments to the Canadian playing code or not. Clubs playing west of the Great Lakes next year will cavort around the gridirons under such changes anyway....
>
> Fans on the Prairies and on the Pacific slope next year will no doubt see running interference on plays from scrimmage to a depth of five yards, at least, beyond the line of scrimmage with both line men and halves interfering together. They will also see players substituted as many times as a coach wants to make changes in his lineup....[116]

When the forward pass was first drafted into the Canadian code, it was undoubtedly the intention of the C.R.F.U. that the play be learned by Canadians. However, the Montreal club in the Big Four, while realizing the possibilities of the play, could not take advantage of it because they had no power, and consequently the club imported a player trained in the U.S.A., Warren Stevens from the University of Syracuse. The team had a very successful year, winning the Dominion title and attracting huge crowds, both home and away, for everybody was anxious to see Stevens perform. The experiment was so successful that other teams quickly followed Montreal's lead, and the next year the business of importing stars from the U.S.A. was on in earnest.[117]

In the West, Joe Ryan, the Winnipeg general manager, was financed by a group of Winnipeg businessmen and journeyed into the "Swede Belt"of Minnesota and the Dakotas. He returned with seven Americans, who when added to the two from 1934, made a total of nine American players that Winnipeg would use in 1935. Outstanding among the U.S.A. imports was Fritz Hanson who led the Winnipeg club to an 18 to 12 victory over the Hamilton Tiger Cats to wrest the Grey Cup from the East for the first time.[118]

Because the American imports were obviously receiving money "under the table" in 1934 the A.A.U. of C. urged the C.R.F.U. to impose residence rules to curb the influx of imported American football players. The C.R.F.U. promised to and did enact legislation aimed at curtailing the practice of importing players, but the various unions over which the C.R.F.U. was supposed to have jurisdiction did not pay attention to its edicts.[119] Consequently, by the mid-1930's the American football player had become a common figure on the Canadian football field, particularly in the West where there was a shortage of top calibre players.

Although the Prairie Provinces, and especially Manitoba, actively interacted with the U.S.A. in sport, they also looked to each other for inter-provincial competition. By 1937 there were four football unions in the West: the Western Canadian Rugby Union, the Western Intercollegiate Union, the Western Inter-Provincial Union and the British Columbia Union.[120] The universities generated a unifying force in the Prairies when they formed the Western Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union in 1920. The charter members were the Universities of Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba with the University of British Columbia joining the union in 1923. In the early years, track and field was the major sport in active competition, with football coming into prominence in 1927 when a schedule was played among Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Alberta.[121] However, the great distances between major centres and severe winters made travelling tedious and expensive, thereby limiting the number of athletic contests possible. Professional hockey in the Prairies was unsuccessful largely because of the high travelling costs and poor attendances at games. There was a tendency, particularly during the cold winters, for the Prairie Provinces to look within themselves for local competition.

Climate was an important factor in the development of sport in the Prairie Provinces during the inter-war period. Basically the three provinces experienced a cold winter and a warm summer with a moderate spring and autumn. In Winnipeg the mean range between the warmest and coldest months was 70° compared to 21° in Victoria. Winters lasted from November to March with the lowest average daily mean temperature falling in January (Edmonton: 6.3°; Prince Albert: -4.6°, and Winnipeg: -2.7°). In the summers bright hot days were to be expected, with the highest daily mean temperatures coming in July (60° to 70°). (See Table I, p. 18). A unique feature of the winters of Southern Alberta and Saskatchewan was the chinook, a warm westerly wind which could rapidly raise the winter temperatures.[122]

Compared to British Columbia and Eastern Canada, the season for outdoor sports in the Prairies was much shorter, terminating usually by late October. This fact created problems in Canadian football, for the leagues usually finished their schedules two or three weeks earlier than those in the East, forcing the western champion to continue practicing under far from ideal weather conditions until an eastern representative was chosen.

Because of the natural ice conditions the two major winter sports in the Prairie Provinces were hockey and curling. Almost every community ardently supported an amateur or pseudo-amateur hockey team. Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, was one such town. Here, most events were usually overshadowed by sports--hockey being the most popular, even during the depresssion years:

> Nor did hard times cool the ardour of the citizens for sports. The most popular of these continued to be hockey and many persons became intensely concerned with the fortunes of the Prince Albert Mintos. The devotion was, indeed, well tested in the early thirties.[123]

In writing about his experiences as a teacher in 1933 in Bleke, Saskatchewan which lay on the Saskatchewan-Alberta Border just north of the South Saskatchewan River, Braithwaite gave the following vivid description of hockey in a rural community:

> When there was ice, of course, hockey was the game they played. And, early in January, the tag end of a chinook wind hit southwestern Saskatchewan and melted most of the snow. The water ran down to a low spot in the corner of the school yard and sat there on the frozen ground making a rink about forty feet long. After that, every free minute they could find, the children spent on that ice. At recess they played hockey on foot; during lunch hour they put on their skates. And they always conned me into going out with them.
>
> In place of the regulation hard rubber puck with which the game is properly played, they used an end sawed from a poplar pole or a frozen horse turd. There were always plenty of them around. For shin pads--and you can't play hockey without them--they tied old scribblers to their legs. The hockey sticks were the regular kind usually obtained at Christmas, and tenderly cared for.[124]

Hockey was equally popular in the larger prairie cities with Edmonton, Calgary, Regina, Saskatoon and Winnipeg all possessing numerous hockey teams and leagues. In 1932 in Winnipeg there were approximately 120 teams of youngsters under the age of 20 playing hockey while many adults competed in mercantile, industrial, and commercial leagues.[125] Hockey was thriving on the Prairies!

Curling, too, was an exceptionally popular activity during the winter months in the Prairie Provinces. From the start of the MacDonald Brier Tankard in 1927 until 1935 the Prairies lost the Canadian title only twice, with Manitoba winning six times and Alberta once.[126] The Winnipeg Free Press gave extensive coverage to the annual Manitoba Bonspiel which each year seemed to become "bigger and better" with record entries. In 1935 the Free Press reported that the entry of 232 rinks in the forty-seventh annual Manitoba bonspiel eclipsed all attendance records for the past 12 years and doubled the total of 5 years ago.[127]

A similar enthusiasm for the "roaring game" was observed in the rural areas. Farmers sometimes brought their produce to town to pay their curling fees, and it was often the rule at many clubs that the farmers have the ice in the daytime and townsfolk at night.[128] In his book The Night We Stole the Mountie's Car, Braithwaite discusses the sport of curling in rural Saskatchewan:

> Curling has been the main winter pastime in Saskatchewan for as long as there's been a Saskatchewan, I guess, and before that. One of my earliest memories is of being left with my brothers and sisters in the big stone house in Nokomis while Mother and Dad were over at the rink curling. And of the great prizes Dad and my brothers would bring home--chairs, couches, fancy lamps, garden sets, and so on.
>
> It was the perfect game for the Prairies, for it is played on ice and ice is what Saskatchewan always had plenty of. Besides, we had none of the modern winter blessings in those days. No television, no radio, no moving pictures. Just house-parties with dancing and singing, and curling.
>
> It was much the same in the Thirties, more so perhaps because money was so scarce. Curling cost little at that time. The annual curling club fee rarely ran more than five dollars and the rocks were provided. You had to buy a broom, to be sure, and that set you back almost a dollar. For the rest, the farmers just dressed as they did for work. Oh, here and there you'd see a white jumbo-knit sweater but they were considered pure swank rather than something to strive for.[129]

During the depression curling was a sport played by the single young men in the work camps even though they did not have the proper equipment. A reporter for the Winnipeg Free Press wrote the following account about curling in one such camp:

> Out at Camp 7 of the Lac Seul unemployment project, 35 miles from a railroad, where the wind whistles through the jackpines, there is a group of enthusiastic curlers "sooping" her up in the good old Caledonian way.
>
> These hardy lads of Camp 7 believe that you city curlers with your indoor rinks, knee pads and your razor-edged granites are not really curlin'. Out at Seven when they play the outturns, a 30 below breeze sweeps across the open rink and when the skip throws a runner the frost drops off the wooden curling rocks in chunks. Yes, you members of city clubs, these boys are using wooden curling rocks, which is just another proof that you cannot keep a curler down.
>
> It appears that at Camp 7 they had lots of ice, a few brooms but no curling stones. They had the "makins" though, some good solid birch trees on the camp site. So just to start the game going they went out and hewed out their own curling stones--sixteen pairs of

> them, and the reporter will vouch that they are a work of art.
> Weighing about 40 pounds, with a turned spike in the top for a handle, these curling rocks are made in one solid piece and have the bottoms bevelled. The scribe watched the assistant superintendent of the camp throw the rocks up the ice at Hudson and they answered beautifully to both turns.
> This is a good example of the ingenuity shown by the workers and how they are making their own amusement.[130]

Throughout the 1920's and 1930's curling prospered on the Prairies. It was particularly suited to this region of Canada with its natural ice conditions because both rural and urban areas could participate, and during the depression years the low cost of the activity put it within reach of even the poorest farmer.

Except for Alberta, the Prairies hardly possessed ideal ski conditions, but surprisingly enough, the sport did gain popularity there:

> On the Prairies, too, although on the levels far from the mountains there is not that depth of perfect snow which makes the skiers paradise, the sport has taken hold. Years ago in Winnipeg, the Holly Snowshoe Club, a band of enthusiasts for snowshoe running, were experimenting with skiis along the valley of the Red River; and Edmonton and Calgary both have groups of experts; in fact, the lattter city has a jump erected, and a few years since meets were held there regularly.[131]

By 1936 the Winnipeg club had become established as one of the major ski organizations on the Prairies,[132] and ski trains to the La Riviere ski country, 120 miles northwest of Winnipeg became a regular feature on winter weekends. In 1938 Manitoba had 8,000 skiers, Alberta had 3,000 and Saskatchewan had 1,500.[133] Naturally the best ski conditions existed in the mountains of Western Alberta around Banff and Jasper. Alberta had a large Scandinavian population which was responsible for the initial development of the sport in the province.[134, 135] Gus Johnson who had come to Canada from Sweden in 1918 became known as the father of skiing in Banff.[136]

During the 1920's and 1930's on the Prairies there was a trend towards participation in indoor winter sport. In addition to the most popular indoor winter activities, curling and hockey, the three sports--bowling, badminton, and basketball--increased in popularity.

The growth of bowling during the second decade of the twentieth century noted by Jones[137] continued, but at an accelerated rate, during the 1921 to 1939 time period. In 1921 it was reported in the Free Press that "...alley bowling again enjoyed a tremendous year's growth, the number of 5-men teams participating in the different leagues being of record proportions."[138] At the eleventh annual tournament of the Winnipeg Bowling Association in 1926 the entries from both Winnipeg and outside points constituted a record with about 40 teams and 200 bowlers entered from Grand Forks, Jamestown, Fairbault, Redwing, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Brandon, Regina, Moose Jaw, Calgary, Saskatoon, Chisholm, and Winnipeg.[139]

The following article from the Winnipeg Free Press in 1926 aptly illustrates the growth of the sport of bowling:

> Perhaps no sport in Winnipeg has made the strides in recent years that bowling boasts of. From two organized leagues in 1916, when the Winnipeg Bowling Association was formed, the game has grown to such an extent that there are now 65 men's leagues and several dozen women's leagues, taking in more than 3,000 active bowlers.
>
> The Winnipeg Bowling Association whose efforts have no doubt played a prominent part in the promotion of the sport, is now entering upon its twelfth season. The first tourney under the guidance of this body in 1916, attracted 36 teams. Last season's tournament was attended by 114 five-men teams.[140]

Bowling officials estimated that there were close to 10,000 ten and five-pin bowlers, both men and women, in Winnipeg in 1926.[141] By 1930 this number had increased to 30,000 bowlers some of whom played in one of the 36 ten-pin or 50 five-pin leagues that were affiliated with the Winnipeg Bowling Association. That same year there were 134 alleys in the city of Winnipeg.[142] The number of participants continued to increase so that in 1938 in Winnipeg there were 80 affiliated leagues for the five-pin version alone.[143]

Badminton experienced a similar growth in the Prairie Provinces. As stated previously, up until about 1925 badminton was restricted to a few clubs formed in garrisons throughout the country, but by 1930 the game had a large following. Its sudden growth is illustrated in the following article from the Winnipeg Free Press of January 1, 1931:

> It is no exaggeration to say that of all the sports that have shown tremendous growth in this city in recent years, the game of badminton stands first and paramount. Although the first devotees showed themselves as far back as 1912, it was not until the last two or three years that the obvious merits of the game appealed to a vastly increasing number of followers.
>
> Approximately 3,000 persons have been attracted by the game in Winnipeg and are ardent participants. The Winnipeg Winter Club, the Winnipeg badminton club, the commodious and new Wilderwood club, the Armories, the schools and many other organizations all are flourishing with capacity memberships.[144]

In 1931, J. F. Devlin, the world badminton champion from England, arrived in Winnipeg to take over the coaching duties at the Winnipeg Winter Club, thus giving badminton in the West a further boost.[145]

Clearly, the lower classes could not afford to belong to the exclusive clubs, but they were able to participate in the game in smaller clubs headquartered in schools, churches, barns, dance halls, former skating rinks, and any other adaptable type of building. Badminton could be a relatively inexpensive sport and this fact partially accounted for its phenomenal growth on the impoverished Prairies during the depression years.

Basketball was yet another indoor winter sport that gained a strong following in the Prairies during the inter-war period. Prior to World War I the game was played primarily in the Y.M.C.A.'s, but after the War commercial, city, church, and interscholastic leagues were formed. After the formation of the Western Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union (W.C.I.A.U.) in 1920 the Universities of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba competed against each other in basketball[146] while high school leagues grew up throughout the Prairie Provinces. In 1924 basketball was given a tremendous boost when the first national basketball championship was held.[147] From 1924 to 1936 the Winnipeg Toilers won the championship three times (1926, 1927, 1932) while the Raymond Union Jacks won the title once (1924).[148]

The following report concerning the growth of basketball appeared in the Winnipeg Free Press in 1928:

> Basketball is now one of the best known games in Canada today. Its rise has been remarkable in the last two or three years. The game itself is largely played in the Y.M.C.A.'s throughout Canada, but there are now many private leagues throughout the Dominion. Each year at this season, the winners of these different leagues play off, and a Domionion championship series is played to determine the team worthy of these laurels. The first game was played in the old 90th Drill Hall, but the Y.M.C.A. was instrumental in bringing it to the fore during the years from 1900 to 1910.
>
> In these years it spread over the western provinces wherever there was suitable playing facilities. Basketball has never been popular as an outdoor game but as an indoor game it holds its own with any other national game, with the possible exception of hockey.
>
> With basketball now rising above the crest of sportdom we have the Toilers of Winnipeg, twice Dominion champions and seven times provincial champions....[149]

Southern Alberta, the home of the Raymond Union Jacks, was a natural area of the Prairies in which basketball would thrive. This area was famous for its inconsistent winter weather, with temperatures ranging quickly and frequently from -30^{o} to 50^{o}. Under such conditions natural ice was a rare commodity and a strong tradition in the Canadian sport of ice hockey never did develop. In addition, the population of Southern Alberta was characterized by a high percentage of people belonging to the Church of the Latter Day Saints. Basketball was first brought to Southern Alberta by the Mormon pioneers who came to Canada just before and after the turn of the twentieth century, and their church was a positive factor in the promotion of the game.[150]

With the opening, in 1910, of a Mormon school, the Knight Academy in Raymond, there was a boost to the game of basketball. At first teachers were sent from Utah to staff the Academy, and among the instructors sent were trained athletic directors who put basketball in Southern Alberta upon a sound foundation. Out of the Knight Academy came the nucleus of the players on the Raymond Union Jacks that started in 1916. The Union Jacks dominated senior men's basketball in Alberta during the 1920's and 1930's. Furthermore, other Mormon centres such as Stirling, Magrath, and Cardston produced more basketball players than would normally be expected from communities of the same size.[151] In these towns the Church of the Latter Day Saints provided basketball facilities and athletic programs in which basketball was emphasized.

Women's basketball in the Prairie Provinces also reached a high standard. From Edmonton came the famous women's basketball team, the Edmonton Grads, coached by the late Percy Page. From 1915 to 1940 the Grads played 522 games in Canada, the U.S.A., and Europe, winning 502 and losing only 20. Public interest in the team was high, and crowds as large as 7,000 gathered to watch their heroines play. The girls attended 4 Olympics (Paris-1924, Amsterdam-1928, Los Angeles-1932, and Berlin-1936) although girls' basketball was not an official event and won all 27 exhibition games.[152]

As has been seen both men's and women's basketball thrived on the Prairies during the prosperous 1920's and the depression of the 1930's. Indeed, the depression may have had a beneficial effect upon the growth of basketball, for many of the unemployed men during the 1930's sought relief during their hours of boredom by frequenting the different agencies, institutions, and associations which offered recreational activities. Basketball required a relatively small amount of money to equip and operate a team especially at a local level.[153]

Like bowling, basketball was an indoor winter sport played primarily in the urban centres of the Prairies where proper facilities were constructed. In rural areas only limited sports facilities were available to farmers. For this reason the large rural population of the Prairie Provinces (see Table II, p. 53) was somewhat restricted in the sports that could be played. Furthermore, after the depression struck, rural dwellers had little money to spend on recreation and confined their sports activity to games requiring a minimum of equipment and expense. As previously stated, hockey and curling were two winter activities that had many participants, both in the rural and urban areas. Indoors, badminton could be adapted to the rural setting, whereas bowling and basketball were restricted to the urban communities that had adequate facilities.

Both baseball and softball were games that were particularly

TABLE II

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS OF CANADA 1911-1941[154]

Province or Territory	1911		1921		1931		1941	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
P. E. Island	78,758	14,970	69,522	19,093	67,653	20,385	70,707	24,340
Nova Scotia	306,210	186,128	296,799	227,038	281,192	231,654	310,422	267,540
New Brunswick	252,342	99,547	263,432	124,444	279,279	128,940	313,978	143,423
Quebec	1,038,934	966,842	1,037,941	1,322,569	1,061,056	1,813,606	1,222,198	2,109,684
Ontario	1,198,803	1,328,489	1,227,030	1,706,632	1,335,691	2,095,992	1,449,022	2,338,633
Manitoba	261,069	200,365	348,502	261,616	384,170	315,969	407,871	321,873
Saskatchewan	361,037	131,395	538,552	218,958	630,880	290,905	600,846	295,146
Alberta	236,633	137,662	365,550	222,904	453,097	278,508	489,583	306,586
British Columbia	188,796	203,684	277,020	247,562	299,524	394,739	374,467	443,394
Yukon	4,647	3,865	2,851	1,306	2,870	1,360	3,117	1,797
N.W.T.	6,507	Nil	8,143	Nil	9,316	Nil	12,028	Nil
Canada	3,933,696	3,272,947	4,435,827	4,352,122	4,804,728	5,572,058	5,254,239	6,252,416

adaptable to rural areas, for the two summer sports could be played with little expense to the participants on any available piece of flat land. Braithwaite's description of baseball in Wannego, Saskatchewan, a small rural town is indicative of the popularity of the sport in the rural areas of the Prairies:

> And baseball was the big, super-duper attraction of the Sports Day. They played good baseball in prairie towns. Most kids start pitching balls around as soon as they can walk. Every school and town has a good team.
>
> There would be four tournaments going simultaneously. The men's senior baseball tournament, the ladies' senior softball tournament, the school boys' baseball and the girls' softball tournaments. The lesser tournament drew their small coterie of fans--relatives and friends of the players, mostly, while the senior baseball always drew the biggest crowd.
>
> Even in the Thirties prizes for the senior baseball were high, with up to five hundred dollars for first money. The knockout competition began early in the day and went on until the sun sank below the prairie horizon. Oldtimers pulled their trucks or buggies in along the baselines and never left for the whole day. I can still see those cars and trucks nosed in against the chickenwire fence that stretched along the baselines and the farmers in their blue serge suits visiting back and forth....[155]

Indeed, in writing about the July 1st Holiday, Braithwaite illustrates how a sport like baseball played an important function in diverting the prairie farmer's thoughts temporarily from the miseries of the depression:

> I don't remember any patriotic celebrations or parades or pageants or bosoms swelling with pride or speeches by politicians. And I really don't know if this was because people didn't think about it or just didn't care. Certainly there was little in the mid-Thirties to make us proud of being Canadians.
>
> But a Sports Day, now. That was a different batch of dandelion greens entirely. All the patriotism and pride was centred in the local community. Beat the other towns, that was the thing. Show them we could put on a better Sports Day, field a better baseball team, and ladies' softball team, prove that our young men could run faster than their young men. Competition. That was the outlet for our civic pride. And, after all, isn't that what life is all about?[156]

Reports from other rural areas of the Prairies indicated the same enthusiasm for baseball. In Picture Butte, in Southern Alberta, baseball was the main form of recreation, and "...in the twenties and early thirties Picture Butte had a local ball team that could hold its own with any for miles around".[157]

In the prairie cities baseball was equally successful with a wide variety of leagues ranging from Sunday school up to professional leagues like the Northern Professional Baseball League in which Winnipeg played. The Free Press summarized the 1926 baseball season in the following manner:

> Baseball maintained its hold on the public during 1926. In Winnipeg there were many teams in all the amateur leagues, money tournaments prevailed in the country, while big league baseball enjoyed the greatest year in history....[158]

In the late 1920's softball or diamond ball started to usurp baseball's position as a favourite summer activity:

> From a small beginning a few years ago, softball, or diamond ball, as it has come to be known, has grown by leaps and bounds, until now it is ranked one of Winnipeg's major sports during the summer months. Hardly an evening passes from June until September without 10 or 12 league games being played on the many diamonds.
>
> Last season was one of the most successful in the history of the game in Winnipeg, every organized league reporting a banner year not only from a financial standpoint but also competitive.
>
> The most popular league is the senior girls' which operates at Sherburn Park. Thousands of fans pass through the turnstiles to watch the four-team loop in action.[159]

Golf was another popular summer sport in the Prairies, although more so in the urban areas than in the rural, due primarily to the fact that large numbers of participants were required to cover the expenses involved in the upkeep of the "links". However, some rural communities did attempt to develop the sport; for example, fifteen citizens of Carman, Manitoba, rented a few acres of land near the town and laid out a five-hole course.[160] At Holland, Manitoba, in the early twenties a golf course was laid out on the fair grounds. The grass was cut with a big lawn mower drawn by a team of horses, but ten years later when the mower wore out, the game was no longer played.[161]

Prior to the 1920's golf was a sport which only the wealthy could afford to play as there were insufficient public courses for the masses of people wishing to participate.[162] In Winnipeg in 1925, to join the St. Charles Country Club one had to pay 500 dollars for a share, plus a 100 dollar transfer fee and another 100 dollars for the annual fee.[163] Fortunately for golf enthusiasts, during the 1920's there was a brisk boom towards providing reasonably good golfing facilities within the reach of the average salaried man. In 1925 there were 16 municipal courses in operation in Canada. Edmonton was the first Canadian city to have municipal golf. The movement spread to Calgary where in 1924, 17,000 players passed over their civic golf courses. Winnipeg's Kildonan course, opened in 1921, had no annual membership fee but rather a 40 cent green fee. Then in 1924 the city of Winnipeg took over a second course, Windsor Park. By 1925 other prairie cities to maintain civic courses were Moose Jaw, Medicine Hat, and Brandon.[164] In addition to the municipal courses there were many private clubs in Canada[165] with a total membership approximating 100,000 golfers.[166] By 1930 these numbers had increased to 700 clubs with 175,000 golfers.[167]

The Prairie Provinces had their share of golf enthusiasts. In fact, Winnipeg had the reputation of being one of the "golfiest" cities on the continent. In 1925 there were 17 courses in and about the city, all with large memberships, and it was conservatively estimated that there were more than 8,000 golfers in Winnipeg,[168] 1 to every 28 of the population. The following article from the Free Press, January 2, 1929, further illustrates the enthusiasm for golf in Winnipeg:

> Despite the intrusion of the "mosquito pest" in midsummer, the 23 local clubs had a splendid season. That the royal and ancient game is becoming more and more popular is evidenced from the increasing attendance at the public courses and the more active membership in private clubs. Figures released by the Parks Board showed that there had been 44,000 rounds played at Kildonan municipal course, and 33,000 at the beautiful Windsor links, just 2,000 rounds short of the record, despite the six-week lay-off from wet weather and mosquitoes.[169]

From the above discussion it is evident that golf became a very popular sport in the urban areas of the Prairie Provinces during the inter-war period.

Soccer, a "link of empire", was yet another sport that grew in popularity during the 1920's and 1930's. Prairie newspapers not only gave good coverage to the sport locally but also regularly reported Old Country results. As well, throughout the period and particularly during the twenties and latter part of the thirties, the Prairies frequently played host to touring soccer teams from the British Isles. Among these visiting teams were: the Scots in 1921,[170] the Corinthians from England in 1924,[171] an All-Star English team in 1926,[172] the Scots in 1927,[173] a Welsh team in 1929,[174] an English team in 1931,[175] the English Corinthians[176] and Charleton Athletics in 1937,[177] the Corinthians again in 1938,[178] and the Scots in 1939.[179] It should be noted that between 1931 and 1937 there was no evidence of touring soccer teams probably because the existing depression made it difficult for Britain to send teams overseas. Most of the visiting teams toured the entire country, playing exhibition games in the major centres across Canada. Intense interest was generated in the Prairies when these teams came. In 1921 9,000 fans turned out to see the Scots defeat the Winnipegers 3 to 1,[180] and 8,000 saw the Manitoba All-Stars lose a close 2 to 1 match to the

English stars in 1926.[181]

The calibre of soccer on the Prairies was high. In fact, the 16-man soccer team chosen to represent Canada in Australia in 1924 included 3 players from Alberta and 2 from each of Manitoba and Saskatchewan.[182] That same year the Winnipeg United Westons captured the Connaught Cup, emblematic of soccer supremacy in Canada.[183]

The success of soccer in the Prairie Provinces can be observed from the following article from the Free Press in 1929:

> One does not need to peer too closely over the records of last season's local soccer to be satisfied that from a broad angle the "grand old game" has made a great stride in the right direction. Interest, keen throughout the season was exemplified in the increased "gates" in local competition and in the Dominion championship finals.
>
> No other branch of sport in the city or for that matter as far as is known in Western Canada, drew the crowds that soccer did. Nearly six thousand fans attended the first game of the Dominion Football Association finals here between Montreal C.N.R. and the New Westminster Royals while only a matter of a hundred or two short of that number watched breathlessly the battles between Westbrook and the Saskatoon Thistles. Truly an imposing local monument to the advance that the game is making throughout the American continent.[184]

Soccer was not merely a spectator sport. There was also a high degree of participation in Sunday school, church, and mercantile leagues. In the rural areas it was an ideal sport especially during the hard-times of the depression, for all that was needed in order to play the game was a level piece of ground and a ball.

Like soccer, track and field was a sport in which the Prairie Provinces exhibited a keen interest. The western universities assisted in creating a renewed enthusiasm for the sport, since track and field was the major activity of the newly formed Western Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union (1920) until football came into prominence in 1927.[185] As well, track and field meets organized by the Police Athletic Associations, the Scottish-Societies, and the Sunday School leagues achieved a great deal in promoting the sport. It was reported in the Free Press that the year 1926 could be termed one of the greatest in the history of track and field in Manitoba with a greater number of athletes taking part than ever before.[186]

Further interest in track and field in the Prairie Provinces was generated by the outstanding performances of western athletes in the 1928 Olympics:

> Of the total points piled up by Canada, the boys from the wheat belt and the Pacific Coast piled up the major portion. Of the places won, Percy Williams scored two firsts.
>
> Jimmy Ball, Winnipeg's great little quarter miler, placed second in the 400 metre event. Ethel Catherwood, of Saskatoon, set a new world's record to win the women's high jump . . . .[187]

In 1930 the Free Press reported that track and field had played an engrossing part in the athletic life of Manitoba's youth during the past year:

> Not for many, many seasons has there been so much fundamental work accomplished with such excellent results as during the summer of 1929. Following the Olympic year one might have expected a falling off in the performances of our knights of the cinder paths, but a brief review will serve to show that an even higher standard was reached, not only here but all across the continent.[188]

The international success of western track and field athletes seemed to have inspired Westerners.

Enthusiasm for track and field continued on into the 1930's as record numbers of participants and spectators at track and field meets were frequently reported. In 1933 a record crowd of over 12,000 saw the cream of Manitoba's track and field athletes participate in the twenty-seventh annual games of the Scottish Athletic Association.[189] During the late 1930's there was a noticeable decline in newspaper coverage of track and field which seemed to indicate a waning public interest in the sport which had reached its zenith in 1928.

It has been observed that sport underwent similar development in the three Prairie Provinces during the 1921 to 1939 time period. There was frequent interaction between the Prairies and the U.S.A. in a wide variety of sports, and international leagues were established. The "progressive" Prairie Provinces eagerly adopted American rules into Canadian football and seemed to be more willing to co-operate with the nearby U.S.A. than with Ontario and Quebec in implementing rule changes.

In addition to American influence, climate was an important factor in the development of sport in the Prairies. Basically, all three provinces experienced the same climate--a cold winter and a warm summer. Therefore a similar pattern of sport among the Prairie Provinces was seen. Because of the natural ice conditions the two most popular winter sports were hockey and curling in both urban and rural areas. Due to the severe winter weather, the trend towards indoor winter sport was especially noticeable in the Prairies. Most communities had indoor curling rinks and hockey arenas, and in urban centres indoor sports such as bowling, basketball, and badminton grew in popularity.

During the summer months Canadian football, golf, baseball, softball, soccer, and track and field attracted large numbers of participants and spectators. Baseball, softball, and soccer were particularly suitable in the rural areas for a minimum of equipment and facilities were required. This became an important factor after the onset of the depression because few farmers could afford expensive forms of recreation.

As was the case with British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces' competition in sport with Eastern Canada was usually restricted to national championship events. For the most part, the Prairie Provinces interacted with the adjacent regions of the U.S.A. and also competed inter-provincially, sometimes including British Columbia in their leagues.

Western Discontent

During the inter-war period the West became the major centre of discontent in Canada. The hardships and isolation imposed by geography and climate in themselves provided a basis for frustration; the economic condition of the prairie farmer exacerbated the situation. He was tied to one crop, wheat, whose prices fluctuated with the world market, and had no control over the price he received for his crop.[190] It was clear to the farmer that the real control of his destiny was in the hands of those who owned the land companies and the elevator companies, and those who ran the Grain Exchange. The real centres of power were in the East and Easterners had a vested interest in keeping the western farmer in a condition of feudal dependence. In British Columbia the economy was based on primary production: logging, mining, and fishing. The nature of the mining and logging economies was not unlike that of the wheat economy: primary production, largely for export and consequently sensitive to fluctuations in the world market. Employers simply shut down operations when the prices for timber and minerals were too low to be economic. The result was insecurity for the miners and loggers and resentment towards the East where many of the owners lived.[191] In the cities of the West where there was industry and a working class--Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, Vancouver--there was similar discontent. The city workers in the West also came to see the established political parties and their backers in the East as their enemies.

The Winnipeg General Strike in 1919, the Progressive movement, the on-to-Ottawa trek in 1935, the development of the Co-operative Commonwealth Federation and Social Credit parties were all manifestations of the reform movements in the West that developed as a reaction to eastern domination. In the Canadian sports scene there was a similar domination by the East which stimulated a reactionary reform movement within the West. As a result, East-West rivalry in sport grew in intensity during the 1920's and 1930's.

Many of the problems existing between the East and the West centred around the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada which was dominated by eastern officials. In 1922 East-West relationships were severely strained when the Ontario branch conducted its branch championships in boxing and track and field on the same days as the national championships in these sports were held in Calgary. Western delegates who attended the thirty-fifth annual meeting of the Union in Montreal protested the actions of the Ontario branch and after much discussion, in which Ontario delegates attempted to justify their actions, it was resolved that in future, branch championships had to be separated from the national championships by at least ten days.[192]

Alberta had advocated for a number of years (especially since the conclusion of World War I) that amateurs be permitted to play with and against professionals in certain sports. The athletic population of the West, and particularly the Prairie Provinces, was not nearly as extensive as it was in the provinces of Ontario and Quebec; therefore, in order for a province such as Alberta to have sufficient participants for competitive leagues there was a need for a more liberal ruling concerning eligibility. However, the eastern dominated Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (A.A.U.

of C.) blocked most reform movements proposed by the West,[193] and imposed more demanding criteria of eligibility.[194]

In 1931 the British Columbia Branch of the A.A.U. of C. was extremely upset and considered severance from the Union as a result of the action of the delegates at the annual meeting of the Canadian body in Winnipeg rescinding a promise that the Olympic trials would be held in Vancouver and then awarding the trials to Hamilton. Art Jeffard, president of the British Columbia Amateur Hockey Association declared: "Those fellows in the East don't know anything but the double cross game and I know what I am talking about as I have sat in with them."[195] In the opinion of Stanley Smith, secretary of the British Columbia branch, and also the British Columbia Hockey Association, the action of the eastern delegates meant that British Columbia was just about through with the Canadian body. He remarked:

> Just say for me that if Vancouver is not to get the trials that I for one am prepared to wage a stiff war in regard to breaking away from the A.A.U. of Canada, and I am sure I will get plenty of support. After all, we don't need the Canadian body very much as far as competition is concerned. We can go south and get pretty nearly everything we want. There is baseball, hockey, basketball, and track and field competition right at our door. Of course I would prefer to keep our sport at home, but I am pretty well fed up with the actions of these eastern lords and I am ready to declare war.[196]

Western athletes felt that they were not given an equal opportunity to qualify for international teams as the trials were usually held in Eastern Canada, and few Westerners could afford to travel such long distances without sponsorship.[197] For example, in 1925, a women's track and field team was sent to compete in the British women's track and field championships, but the West was unable to send representatives to Hamilton because there was insufficient time to select candidates and raise funds for their expenses.[198]

Then, there were occasions when the West felt discriminated against when team selections were made. One such instance occurred in 1924 when John McLaughlin and Charlie Belanger, both of Winnipeg, were not included on the Canadian boxing and wrestling teams even though they were both winners at the Olympic trials in Toronto. As a result, there was widespread indignation throughout Manitoba and the West.[199] Similar incidents intensified the discontent in the West.

A strong rivalry in sport between Eastern and Western Canada did not really have a chance to develop until after World War I. With the exception of a few sports like hockey, curling, and lacrosse most sports were not sufficiently developed in the West to warrant national championships. However, in the early 1920's national finals between eastern and western representatives began to emerge rapidly. The first Canadian championship automobile races were held in 1920[200] while both the Dominion ski championships[201] and the annual East versus West football game for the Grey Cup started in 1921.[202] In 1922 the national finals for badminton commenced,[203] and in 1924 the first sanctioned national basketball championships for both men and women were held.[204] As a result of this increased East-West competition a stronger rivalry between Eastern and Western Canada started in the early 1920's and grew as western athletes became more and more dissatisfied with the treatment accorded them by eastern authorities.

Western Canadians basked in the glory of every triumph over the East, and each time a western athlete excelled in international competition he or she received a hero's or heroine's welcome. The successes of western athletes such as Percy Williams (gold medals in the 100 and 200 metres), Ethel Catherwood (gold medal in the running high jump) and Jimmy Ball (silver medal in the 400 metres) in the 1928 Olympics or teams like the Edmonton Grads or the Winnipeg Falcons (gold medal in hockey in the 1920 Winter Olympics) were hailed throughout Canada, but further yet, were regarded by Western Canadians as moral victories over the arrogant Easterners.

It was in Canadian football that the East-West rivalry reached its apex. In 1921 the Edmonton Eskimos were the first team to represent the West in the Grey Cup. They went down to defeat at the hands of the Toronto Argonauts by a 23 to 0 score. Not until 1935 did a western team, the Winnipeg Blue Bombers fortified with several American imports, finally wrest the cup from the East.[205] In the interim, western teams often went down in humiliating defeats such as Regina's 54 to 0 loss to Queen's in 1923. A Toronto sportswriter referred to this game as a "farcical exhibition" and wrote that he doubted whether the final would be played the next year at all.[206]

By 1935 eastern sportswriters had a new outlook. About the Winnipeg victory W. T. Munns wrote:

> The result will be in the interest of football. No more will a Canadian final be regarded as a foregone conclusion that another eastern team is about to win. Finalists henceforth will meet on an equal basis, and the Westerners--they'll be defending champions next time--will command the wholesome respect of their opposition . . . .[207]

After 1935 western football teams were considered on par with eastern teams, for at last the West was capable of defeating the East.

Prior to 1939 there was continual squabbling between the East and West on the subject of rugby football. Differences over the rules; dissension over the importation of players from the United States; disagreements over the locale of the Dominion final were some of the sources of conflict.[208]

The Western Union had almost always taken the initiative in advocating and promoting changes in the Canadian code. It was the West, in 1929, that first experimented with the forward pass, a feature of American football.[209] This drastic departure from orthodox rugby--until then inevitably consisting of two bucks and a kick--was frowned upon for some time by the more conservative eastern authorities.[210] Later, in 1931, sensing the fact that the pass was responsible for a very considerable rise in spectator interest, and that the resulting game was speedier and far more pleasing, the East instituted the onside toss into its own code.

Running interference, designed further to open up the game and to give much needed protection to ball carriers, then appeared, resulting in more dissension between East and West. Western rugby authorities reached out and adopted running interference from the American college code of football. Larger runs featured in ensuing games, fans and players alike expressing complete satisfaction with this departure from the old type of rugby. Eventually eastern football officials saw the merits of the rule and adopted interference.[211]

The disadvantage of playing under slightly different rules, the long lay-off between western playdowns and the Dominion final, and the tiring train trip east--all played their parts in turning back the eleven invasions of western teams into the East. Obviously something had to be done. Winnipeg blazed the way by importing practically an entire team from American universities in order to defeat the East. Of the twelve men who started the game for Winnipeg in 1935 only four were Canadians. The rest came from the Dakotas, Minnesota and Wisconsin.[212]

Then the Canadian Rugby Union, dominated by Eastern Canadians, went into action. Meeting in Toronto, on February 29, 1936, the Union moved to prevent further importations by the West, denied the petition of western representatives for a western final, drafted proposed rule changes into a considerably more conservative structure and then approved of the suggested changes. To the motion of western representatives that the Dominion final be played in the West in alternate years, the eastern delegates objected strenuously. Their contention was that late November weather on the Prairies was not suited to football. And yet, due entirely to prolonged eastern schedules, the Winnipegs had waited nearly a month before the 1935 final was staged in Hamilton. Finally eastern delegates partially agreed to western demands and passed a ruling that the location of the final should be decided each year by the executive of the Canadian Rugby Union, on whose ruling body, eastern representatives held the balance of power.

At this meeting the ruling designed to curb further importation of American players was a major issue. Unless resident in Canada from March 1, 1935, no American player was to be permitted to participate in the Canadian game, and in order to play during the 1936 season, American players must have resided in Canada for one year continuously prior to the opening of the season. Completely disregarding the Union ruling on importations, Calgary and Regina allied with Winnipeg looked to the United States for football players. Regina brought in practically an entire American squad and defeated Winnipeg in the Western Finals to represent the West against the Sarnia Imperials, the eastern champions. Ruling that nearly the entire Roughrider squad was ineligible by not having complied with the residence ruling put into effect the preceding spring, the Canadian Rugby Union forbade the play-off for the Grey Cup. Regina, having little chance of winning from the powerful Sarnia team without playing their imports from the States, defaulted to the Imperials, and for the first time in twelve years, there was no championship game in the East.[213]

When Martin Gainor, the all-western middle wing of the Winnipeg Blue Bombers was declared ineligible for the Grey Cup game against the Toronto Argonauts in 1938, an irate Winnipeg fan demonstrated a typical western attitude towards the East in his comment:

> Why, those low-down so and so's. They're always trying to pull something on we Westerners. Say, I'd put Gainor right in the starting line-up out there next Saturday and then ask them what they were going to do about it. And if they don't like it I'd bundle Winnipeg on the train and come back home.[214]

It had always been particularly galling to the Westerners that the eastern unions had more votes in the councils of the Canadian Rugby Union (C.R.U.) than did the western unions. Not until 1937 was this inequity of representation removed by affiliating the Western Inter-provincial Union and the British Columbia Union directly with the national organization. Previously both had only indirectly belonged to the C.R.U. through their membership in the Western Canada Union.[215]

In spite of the creation of equal representation in the C.R.U., conflict between East and West continued over differences in rules. In 1938 there was almost a complete rupture of East-West football relations over these differences:

> Prepared to drop the classic, the C.R.U. was persuaded at its annual meeting Saturday to wait two years for the football rules of East and West to be made uniform. Joe Ryan, of Winnipeg, one of the pillars of western football did the persuading.[216]

It was decided that the various unions would have until 1940 to make their rules uniform with the C.R.U. If, during the 1940 season, a union did not play C.R.U. rules during its regularly scheduled games in its union, that union would not be allowed to challenge for the Grey Cup.[217]

Throughout all this period of strife between the West and C.R.U., the West looked upon the conflict as being between the East and the West. Insofar as British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces were concerned, the predominance of Ontario and Quebec officials among the key positions of the C.R.U. served only to verify this belief. It seemed to be just another example of the East attempting to impose its will upon the West.[218]

In Junior football, also, the Western Provinces felt they were being slighted by the East. In 1933 Bill Dumsday, a Western Canadian sportswriter, wrote the following:

> Blind justice, her scales weighed against the West by prejudice and discrimination, has swayed Canadian rugby football long enough. When will western teams be given a fair and fighting chance. When will those injustices be lifted which have wrought havoc with the hopes of western challengers from year to year? When will ability and ability alone, be the deciding factor when East meets West to fight for definite supremacy in the great fall pastime?
>
> Western pleas for an even break have fallen upon deaf ears. Their representations have been fruitless. As if with the tentacles of a mighty octopus, the East has entwined both junior and senior championships which they never intend to relinquish while the present play-off system is in vogue. The West has never had a chance. The odds against it are too great.[219]

In his article Dumsday continued on to criticize the East for failing to give sufficient financial assistance to western junior football teams travelling to the East for the Dominion final and for biased eastern officiating. Whether these allegations were true or not probably is debatable,[220] but still, the fact remains that Dumsday was expressing opinions shared by many of his fellow Western Canadians. Just as the prairie wheat farmer or labourer in British Columbia felt that eastern "big business" was taking advantage of him, so too, the western football fan resented eastern control of Canadian football.

As the standard of competition in Western Canada rose to that of Eastern Canada the rivalry between East and West intensified. Spectator interest was high as evidenced from the crowds in excess of 15,000 attending senior football games throughout the inter-war period. Hockey also drew large crowds, especially when competition occurred between eastern and western teams. As early as 1921, 10,000 fans flocked to see the Vancouver Millionaires defeat the Ottawa Senators on home ice.[221] Professional hockey came to an end in the West in 1927,[222] but the Allan and Memorial Cup finals in which amateur eastern and western representatives were pitted against each other, continued to draw large crowds. However, it was in football that the East-West rivalry was most evident.

Throughout the inter-war period the East-West rivalry, tempered by the despairs of the depression, reached its peak during the mid-1930's. Sport seemed to act as a catharsis through which Western Canadians could express their resentment toward the East in the more serious game of life.

Summary

The development of sport in British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces during the 1921 to 1939 time period was similar in many ways but also differed in certain aspects. The contrast in climate between the two western regions was responsible for some of the differences in sport that were evident. The mild winters experienced along the heavily populated coastal areas of British Columbia were conducive to long playing seasons in outdoor sports such as English rugby, golf, soccer, track and field, baseball, softball, sailing, and tennis. During the winter the absence of natural ice conditions retarded the progress of hockey and curling along the Pacific Coast. Artificial ice was available for professional hockey, but the lack of natural ice prevented the formation of a broad base of participation in hockey and curling. On the other hand, the Prairie Provinces suffered from long cold winters which shortened the season for summer sports. During the frigid winters natural ice was abundant; consequently, amateur hockey and curling were extremely popular in both urban and rural areas.

Competition between the Prairie Provinces and British Columbia was hampered by the inconveniences of winter travel. Even competition within the Prairie Provinces themselves was hindered by the difficulties of travel on the Prairies during the winter months, especially since the distances between centres were so great. Furthermore, because the length of the playing season for outdoor sports varied there was a tendency for each of the two western regions to compete against the nearby parts of the U.S.A. which had similar climates.

Both British Columbia and the Prairies interacted with the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. in sport through regular leagues, tournaments, and exhibition contests. In fact, both regions looked more frequently to the nearby parts of the U.S.A. for day to day competition than they did to each other. British Columbia did interact with Alberta in sport, but the greater distances to Saskatchewan and Manitoba made regular inter-regional competition more difficult. It was much simpler for athletes in the heavily populated area of British Columbia around Vancouver to travel to the cities and towns of Washington and Oregon than to journey hundreds of miles to

Saskatchewan and Manitoba. By the same token, Manitoba athletes preferred to go south of the border to Minnesota or North Dakota. The interaction between each of the two western regions and the U.S.A. was detrimental to the development of inter-regional competition.

As a result of the continuous exposure to sport in the U.S.A. the western provinces incorporated American rules into some of their sports. The trend was clearly seen in football, for it was the West that first adopted the American forward pass and running interference into the Canadian game. In conjunction with the implementation of American rules the importation of football players from the U.S.A. gained momentum in this region. The Americanization of sport in Western Canada coincided with the general growth of American influence in Canadian life after World War I. American investment in western industry rapidly increased; the trade union movement advanced northwards into the Canadian West; the Progressive movement in both politics and education spread into the West; and with the improvements in communication systems, American ideas filtered into Western Canada via the press and radio. These trends were certainly not confined to Western Canada, for they were observed in all parts of the country. Nevertheless, the West was the centre of discontent in Canada, and therefore was willing to experiment with new ideas in most facets of life including politics, education, and sport.

In addition to the American influence observed in sport in Western Canada there was a strong British influence. The British tradition in sport was evident in both regions, but in British Columbia it was more pronounced, for a large percentage of the citizens there were of British descent while the Prairie Provinces were characterized by a population of more diverse ethnic origins.[223] Also, by virtue of its location near the sea, British Columbia continued to be exposed to greater British influence than were the Prairie Provinces. Sailors from visiting British ships frequently competed with British Columbia athletes in the traditional British sports, and British Columbia was the primary Canadian destination of touring teams from Australia and New Zealand whereas the Prairie Provinces were too far inland.

As a result, British Columbia was the Canadian stronghold of English rugby while other sports of British origin such as cricket, soccer, lawn bowling, golf, badminton, sailing, rowing, track and field, and tennis were also popular activities. These sports were played in the Prairie Provinces too, but English rugby, cricket, and lawn bowling--three sports in which the British tradition was particularly strong--did not reach the same level of popularity in the Prairie Provinces because the British influence was not as great in this region. By contrast, interest was high throughout the entire West in golf, badminton, soccer, track and field, and tennis. Even though these sports were of British origin, by the 1920's they were being played by prairie athletes from a variety of ethnic groups. In British Columbia athletes of most racial origins also participated in these sports, but the predominant group remained those of British descent.

It is apparent the British and American influence was felt in sport in British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces but not to the same extent in both regions. The continuation of a British tradition in sport was more obvious in British Columbia than in the Prairie Provinces during the inter-war period. Also, because the most densely populated area of British Columbia was located near the urban centres of Washington and Oregon there was a more active interaction in sport between British Columbia and the U.S.A. than was observed between the Prairie Provinces and the neighbour to the South.

The development of sport in each of the two western regions could be distinguished by other features as well. The urban-rural distribution of the population which differed considerably (see Table II, p. 53) accounted for some of the variations in sport that were seen. From 1921 to 1931 there was a sharp increase in the percentage of urban dwellers in British Columbia whereas the urban to rural ratio in the Prairie Provinces changed very little.

The urban-rural distribution of the population affected professional sport in the West. As has been seen, professional hockey was a failure in the Prairie Provinces whereas it survived in British Columbia. Even though first class "pro" hockey ended along the Pacific Coast in 1926 when Frank Patrick sold five clubs to the N.H.L. it did continue at a minor league level throughout the rest of the inter-war period. Similarly, professional baseball, boxing, and wrestling were more successful in British Columbia than in the Prairie Provinces, and British Columbia supported professional six-day cycling and box lacrosse as well.

Professional sport met with greater success in British Columbia than it did in the Prairie Provinces largely because the province's main city, Vancouver, was located near smaller urban centres such as Victoria and New Westminster and the American cities of Seattle and Portland. Travel expenses were relatively low, and professional teams could draw spectators from Vancouver (Canada's third largest city in 1931) and the surrounding communities. On the other hand, the rural population on the

Prairies exceeded the urban, and the major cities which were considerably smaller than Vancouver (with the exception of Winnipeg) were located at great distances from each other. Consequently, travel expenses were high, and there were fewer spectators available to support the teams. Large gate receipts were essential for the functioning of a professional team especially when operating costs were higher than usual. Therefore, during the 1920's and 1930's professional sport floundered in the Prairie Provinces, but met with more success in British Columbia.

Some of the variations in sport between the western regions were particularly noticeable during the depression. Professional sport survived the economic hardships of the depression in British Columbia whereas in the Prairie Provinces it failed dismally. As an outcome of the depression British Columbia developed a unique program, the Provincial-Recreation Program, to provide recreational opportunities for the unemployed. The other western provinces implemented similar programs but none of these were as successful as the original one in British Columbia.

In spite of the fact that the development of sport in British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces differed in some aspects and that their sporting interaction was inhibited by geographical barriers the two regions were unified through a shared hostility towards the East. Just as the West resented the East's control of Canada's economy and politics, so also did it despise the East's domination in sport. In both British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces it was felt that the East was imposing its will upon the West. The A.A.U. of C. was dominated by eastern officials who disregarded western pleas for revisions in the amateur code; western athletes thought that they were not given an equal opportunity to compete on international teams; and in Canadian football it appeared that regulations were designed to prevent the West from defeating the East.

During the 1920's and 1930's, in conjunction with a growing discontent in most facets of life in Western Canada, the East-West rivalry in sport intensified. When a western team emerged victorious over an eastern team there was cause for a great deal of rejoicing in both British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces. The two western regions comprised a unit bound together by a desire to defeat the East.

FOOTNOTES

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[6] Vancouver Sun, July 19, 1922.

[7] Ibid., September 4, 1921.

[8] Ibid., June 26, 1922.

[9] The Province, July 30, 1938.

[10] Vancouver Sun, October 10, 1921.

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[12] The Province, July 22, 1939.

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[16] Ibid., April 5, 1921.

[17] Ibid., March 19, 1927.

[18] Ibid., November 4, 1929.

[19] Ibid., October 6, 1930.

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CHAPTER III

EASTERN CANADA

Ontario

> Ontario is the industrial and mining heart of the Dominion; it is peopled by the hardheaded, somewhat dour descendants of the Loyalists, Protestant Irish and Scotch; its civilization is more tense, more material. Being the central province and containing the seat of government, as well as being far and away the richest and most populous area in the Dominion, Ontario has a trust for the rest of Canada....
>
> Ontario is the birthplace of English Canada, and it is her sons who have gone out and settled distant territories. There is not a single province in the Dominion which does not think with affection of Ontario and her heritage, no matter how much they may resent her financial domination. The memory of Ontario is a solid bond whose strength is often lost sight of in the fact that her banks and commercial houses penetrate into the farthest corner of the Dominion....[1]

Ontario has a strong British tradition. In 1921 2,282,015 of her 2,933,662 residents were of British origin[2] while in 1931 there were 2,539,771 out of a total of 3,431,683.[3] With such a large population of British descent it was inevitable that some British sports would thrive in Ontario. Soccer, cricket, rowing, golf, track and field, sailing, tennis, lawn-bowling, shooting, English rugby, badminton, curling, and horse racing were some of the more popular British activities.

Ontario was often the host to touring teams from the British Isles. The following article from The Globe and Mail is indicative of the frequency that British teams arrived:

> British athletes were appearing here so frequently this year that they almost can be regarded as commuters. This is the third successive week during which Torontonians have been privileged to act as hosts and opponents to overseas visitors.
>
> Two weeks ago the Oxford-Cambridge athletes found Toronto West End

> Y.M.C.A.'s track and field team hard to beat; taking the meet by the odd victory in 13 events. Last week the British Wightman Cup players breezed through the Canadian tennis championships, and today the Marylebone Cricket Club's team will open its tour against All-Toronto at Armour Heights.[4]

Probably no sport in Ontario could be considered more typically British than cricket. Private schools such as Ridley College, Trinity College, Upper Canada College, and St. Andrew's that were remarkably similar to the British public schools were strongholds of the sport. The Eastern Canadian cricket team which toured Western Canada in 1934 was composed mainly of graduates from the schools mentioned above.[5] As well, the private schools combined to form all-star teams to compete against visiting eleven's from overseas.[6] Throughout Eastern Ontario there were regular cricket leagues such as the Southwestern Ontario Cricket League composed of: Forest City, Royal Canadian Regiment of London, C.N.R., Woodstock "A", Woodstock "B", St. Thomas, St. George's, Stratford, Ontario Hospital, and Westminster.[7] Of the 503 cricket players in the Toronto cricket league in 1931, no less than 402 were born in Britain.[8]

Ontario usually led the way in cricket as exemplified by the fact that Ontario cricketers were responsible for the formation of a Dominion Advisory Board in 1934 to link cricket organizations throughout Canada together under representative leadership.[9] The majority of the players of Canadian cricket teams sent overseas to Britain were usually from Ontario,[10] and most overseas cricket teams confined their tours to Eastern Canada.[11]

In the late 1890's and early part of the 20th century cricket was a widespread game in Canada with nearly every small town boasting of its cricket team. Then for a decade or more after World War I cricket reached a low ebb with the growth of baseball, golf, and tennis cutting into the ranks of the cricketers more than any other games. Gradually many of the town teams passed out of existence, and even in the cities few teams continued for little or no provision was made for pitches. However, in the 1930's there was a sharp revival, and in Toronto alone in 1937 there were over 50 teams including about 1,000 junior players.[12] In 1931 W. T. Munns wrote the following about cricket in The Globe and Mail:

> The game of cricket has been favoured during the past season by a substantially increasing measure of interest. Several factors have contributed toward this. The tour of the visiting team from another part of the Empire, namely Bermuda, attracted considerable attention. Teams from Amsterdam, N.Y. and Chicago provided reminders that cricket activities are developing in such a way that international competition for the proffered [sic] handsome Insull Trophy is not far distant.[13]

In 1932 the largest cricket crowd ever in Toronto, 7,000 to 8,000 people, watched the touring "Aussies" play, in spite of inclement weather.[14]

R. C. Mathews, a cricket enthusiast in Toronto, was responsible, to a great extent, for the revival of cricket in Ontario in the 1930's. He did a good deal to popularize the game among schoolboys by organizing proper coaching for them[15] and providing equipment which would have been beyond the reach of most young men to purchase, especially during the depression years.[16] Although cricket did not regain its pre-World War I popularity Ontario continued to be a centre for the British sport in Canada during the 1921 to 1939 period.

Ontario was also the centre of rowing, a sport with a strong British tradition. The Royal Canadian Henley, the major regatta of the country was held annually in the Ontario city of St. Catharines. About the 1920 Henley a Globe and Mail reporter wrote:

> No previous regatta in all the long and glorious history of the Royal Canadian Henley equalled the 38th renewal of the fixture which opened here today on the Welland Canal. Never before were as many clubs from the U.S. and Canada represented and the quality of the

> sport from the standpoint of competitors and spectators alike so fully equal to that of any previous competitions of the Canadian Association of Amateur Oarsmen. The attendance today at the preliminaries was greater and more enthusiastic than has often been during the rowing in finals.[17]

Attendance and entry records at the Royal Canadian Henley continued to be broken throughout the 1920's and 1930's. In addition to the Henley a major regatta was held annually at the Canadian National Exhibition in Toronto and many less important meets were conducted throughout the summer months.

During the early 1920's, Hilton A. Belyea of St. John, New Brunswick was Canada's top sculler with the press giving him extensive coverage. An even greater interest in the late 1920's was generated through the successes of Joe Wright Jr. and Jack Guest. In 1928 at the Henley-on-Thames in England, Wright of the Argonaut Rowing Club, Toronto, won the Diamond Sculls, emblematic of the world amateur supremacy in singles rowing--something that no other Canadian had accomplished since 1904.[18] Then in 1930 Jack Guest of the Don Rowing Club, Toronto, repeated Wright's feat by winning the Diamond Sculls.[19] Bob Pearce, a husky Australian, who emigrated to Canada in 1930 won the Diamond Sculls in 1931, thus giving Canada the coveted rowing title three times in four years.[20] These victories, along with two silver medals in the 1924 Olympics (University of Toronto--8-oared crew and Vancouver Rowing Club--4-oared crew), and a silver medal in the 1928 Olympics (double sculls--J. Wright Jr. and Jack Guest) created an intense interest in the sport during the 1920's, especially in Ontario.

Another aquatic sport of British origin that proved to be popular in Ontario during the inter-war period was sailing. Although restricted to the wealthier classes, it received extensive coverage from the Globe and

Mail throughout the summer months. Races were held almost every weekend during the summer, and Lake Ontario was dotted with sailing craft ranging from tiny dinghies to yachts. The depression seemed to have little effect upon the sport for the majority of the upper classes were able to continue their previous life style during the hard times.

Golf was also a sport in which the British tradition in Ontario was evident. The game which originated in Scotland experienced a rapid growth in Ontario in the mid-1920's just as it had in Western Canada. Toronto alone had twenty-eight golf courses by 1930.[21] Following the lead of Western Canada, Ontario cities started to construct public courses, thus putting the sport within the grasp of the middle classes. Ralph Connable, head of the Woolworth Company, gave considerable impetus to public golf in Ontario. In 1922 he played a prominant role in starting two public courses, the Humber Valley and Glen Stewart clubs. The following year the Hamilton Parks Board took over the Hamilton Golf Club renaming it the Chedoke Civic Club, and the city of London, Ontario, started the Thames Valley Club in 1924. St. Thomas and Windsor followed the example and built similar public courses.[22]

Many of Canada's top golfers of the 1920's and 1930's resided in Ontario. George S. Lyon of Toronto, the "grand old man" of golf who won the Canadian Amateur title eight times and who captured a gold medal in the 1904 Olympics, continued his winning ways in senior golf (over seventy years old) during the 1920's. Frank Thompson of the Mississauga Club, Toronto, Donald Carrick of London, Ontario, were but a few of the Ontario golfers who won the Canadian amateur title. Indeed, Sandy (Ross) Somerville won the Canadian championship four times between 1923 and 1931, and in 1932 became the first Canadian to ever win the amateur golf championship in the U.S.A.:[23]

> The amateur golf championship of the U.S. passed into Canadian hands yesterday, for the first time in history, as C.R. (Sandy) Somerville, slender 29-year-old shotmaker of London, Ontario, outplayed 22-year-old Johnny Goodman of Omaha, Neb., to win the closest battle for this classic title in six years.[24]

Female golfers from Ontario also excelled in national competition with Ada Mackenzie of the Mississauga Club of Toronto being the most outstanding. In 1935 she won her tenth Canadian title since she started winning sixteen years earlier.[25]

Badminton was yet another British sport which underwent phenomenal growth in Ontario in the late 1920's and 1930's. Jack Purcell of Toronto, rated as one of the best singles players in the world during the 1930's wrote the following about the progress of the sport in Ontario:

> Up in Schumacher, Ontario, the members of the McIntyre mine staff are playing badminton every night in an especially built clubhouse which contains splendid equipment. In Windsor, the Frontier Club was recently inaugurated and a disused market building was transformed into a fine badminton club. In Toronto, the Badminton and Racquet Club has utilized a former street-car barn and is developing players of international calibre. The Carleton Club has turned an old curling rink into a fine court building, while the Hurlingham Club plays nightly in a building that once housed the Pavlowa Dance hall.
>
> At Chapleau, Sudbury, Kapuskasing, Cochrane and similar but more remote towns and cities, fine clubs are flourishing. At Port Elgin, a spirited club is attracting attention. In little Clarksburg, Ontario, a recently formed club meets nightly. Residents of Amprior removed pews from a deserted church and laid out two good courts. Appleby School at Oakville has one of the finest playing courts in a former barn. And a private club in the town purchased an unused airplane hangar and brought it to Oakville, where it was reassembled to provide the most practical facilities for badminton.[26]

By the late 1930's badminton was getting thorough coverage from the press, and "how to play badminton" articles were featured in the Globe and Mail. In 1939 for the first time in Toronto history, spectators wanting to pay their way into a badminton tournament were turned away from the city championships at the Granite Club.[27]

During the 1921 to 1939 time period Ontario was the centre of Canadian track and field, a sport with a long British tradition. Scottish immigrants had been largely responsible for introducing track and field into the province through their ancient Caledonian Games as early as the 1840's. Throughout the rest of the 19th Century[28] and right into the 1920's and 1930's the Scottish Societies continued to stage their games in most Eastern Ontario centres where large Scottish populations resided.

Police athletic associations also played a prominent role in promoting track and field in Ontario as can be evidenced from the following report in The Globe and Mail in 1921:

> Keen competition featured the annual athletic tournament of the Toronto Police Amateur Athletic Association held yesterday afternoon at the Island Stadium. Every event was closely contested and the performances in several of these--the pole vault, the 440 yards and the tug of war--were particularly praiseworthy. Ideal weather conditions were the order and a crowd of almost 10,000 people turned out....
>
> The police games bid fair to the return to the popularity they enjoyed before the war when they were the chief athletic event of the city.[29]

The above mentioned games were held annually at Hanlan's Point (named in honour of the great Canadian oarsman, Ned Hanlan). In addition to the Scottish games and the police games an important widely publicized track and field meet was held each year at the Canadian National Exhibition.

During the 1920's track and field experienced a tremendous upsurge in Canada after a low ebb during World War I. No other community in Canada could be given more credit for this revival than the city of Hamilton, Ontario:

> Hamilton, the population of which is about one-hundreth of Canada, will furnish approximately half of this country's Olympic track and field team unless the unexpected happens. There is something wrong

> somewhere--and it is not in Hamilton. That city is now merely reflecting the result of several years of conscientious effort to place track and field athletics in the position which it should occupy in Canada generally. Hamilton's young men, even its boys are afforded opportunity for healthful, clean, and altogether beneficial recreation, beneficial to themselves and to their home town, making them and it a genuine credit to this country. And it is no mere handful of enthusiasts that is responsible for the enviable position that Hamilton occupies in the realm of the spiked shoe. Hamiltonians patronize their local meets and subscribe liberally to the cause of amateur sport....30

Hamilton continued to be the track and field capital of Canada, hosting numerous national trials and training camps for Canada's international teams. Outstanding among her contributions was the fact that in 1930 she hosted the first British Empire Games which included track and field as a major event. The predominance of Ontario in track and field was evident from the large proportion of Ontario athletes who represented Canada in international track and field competitions during the inter-war period.

Track and field, along with the other sports just discussed--cricket, sailing, rowing, golf and badminton--were but a few of the many British activities that were constantly present, reminding Ontario residents that their province was the "birthplace of English Canada". The very fact that a large proportion of Ontario residents were of British descent meant that many of their sports interests were promoted in the province. Frequent tours from the British Isles to Ontario and the return visits paid by Ontario teams served further to bind this province with the motherland. Ontario was a sporting unit, the proud and sometimes arrogant home of British tradition.

Like British Columbia and the Prairie Provinces, Ontario looked south of the border for much of its sports competition. Several large American cities were a mere "stone's throw" from Ontario centres; consequently, there was a natural north-south sporting interaction. Common leagues and rules, exchange of coaches and athletes, as well as numerous special sports events all served to form a bond between Ontario and the adjacent portions of the U.S.A.

Teams from both sides of the border participated in professional baseball and hockey leagues. In 1927 the Toronto Leafs baseball team played in the International League with Buffalo, Baltimore, Rochester, Newark, Jersey City, Reading and Syracuse.[31] By 1933 the International League included Toronto and Montreal as well as Rochester, Buffalo, Newark, Baltimore, Jersey City, and Albany.[32] With the collapse of the Western Hockey League in 1926, the National Hockey League (N.H.L.) became the main Canadian-American professional hockey league. In 1927 the N.H.L. was comprised of ten clubs--two in New York, two in Montreal, and one each in Ottawa, Toronto, Detroit, Boston, Pittsburg, and Chicago. By 1938, the number of Canadian entries had dwindled to two--Montreal and Toronto.[33] The decline in the number of Canadian teams in the N.H.L. was not the result of a decreased production of good Canadian hockey players; in fact, in 1938 there was more hockey played in Canada than ever before with better organization and a vastly greater number of leagues. However, professional hockey had become "big business" surviving only in the large metropolitan centres. For example, in 1934, the Ottawa Senators were forced to drop out of the N.H.L. after losing $60,000 in the previous two seasons.[34] The large American cities played a major role in supporting most of the teams dominated by Canadian talent.[35]

Ontario's sporting interaction with the U.S.A. was by no means confined to professional sport. American and Canadian athletes travelled steadily back and forth across the border to compete in meets and exhibition matches in a wide variety of activities. Lacrosse, sailing, rowing, track and field, polo, boxing, wrestling, softball, baseball, golf, cycling, badminton, squash, tennis, bowling, horse-racing, shooting, swimming, speed-skating and hockey were some of the activities in which competitions were held. Universities in Ontario frequently engaged in exhibition hockey games against American colleges, and in 1934 the International Intercollegiate Hockey League was formed.[36] International regattas were often held on Lake Ontario with the annual race for the historic Canada's Cup, being the premier sailing event on the Great Lakes.[37]

The Canadian National Exhibition (C.N.E.), held annually in Toronto, featured a wide variety of sports competition. The 1931 C.N.E. featured four swims, two for professionals and two for amateurs; three track meets, that of the Ontario Athletic Commission, a junior meet, and an international invitational meet; girls' softball and motor boat, sculling, and sailing races.[38] These events attracted athletes from all over the U.S.A. and Canada. The Wrigley Marathon, begun in 1926, became the main event after George Young's victory in the twenty-two mile swim from Santa Catalina Island to the California mainland in 1927:[39]

> Probably no single feature of the Canadian National Exhibition this year commands such widespread public interest as does the $50,000 marathon swim, scheduled to start in front of Exhibition Park on Wed., Aug. 31. The entry of 422 swimmers including practically every distance star of reputation in the world, and representative of fully a dozen nations, makes the event one of the greatest sports undertakings ever held.
>
> Plans for the C.N.E. Swim were formulated when the victory of George Young, youthful Toronto sensation, in the now famous Catalina races aroused interest in swimming to unprecedented heights. The success of the C.N.E. venture is now assured beyond all expectations, both as to the number and ability of the entrants.[40]

Swimmers from throughout the U.S.A. proved to be strong contenders in the marathon swim. In 1928 Ethel Herth from New York won the $10,000 in the ten-mile ladies' event with the following four places also going to

American women.[41] Edward Keating of New York, Norman Ross of Chicago,[42] and George Blagden[43] were but a few of the American men who were successful in the Wrigley Marathon at the C.N.E. Other events like the international track and field meet and the motor boat races were also dominated by athletes from south of the border.

After World War I the Americanization of Canadian sport was particularly evident in Ontario, a province with an ever increasing number of urban dwellers. In 1921 Ontario had 1,706,632 people in urban areas and 1,227,030 in rural areas, and by 1931 the urban residents had increased to 2,095,992 as opposed to 1,225,691 rural inhabitants.[44] Larger urban centres meant more potential spectators and hence a trend towards professional sport. By the end of World War I professional sport was firmly established in the U.S.A. as "big business". It was inevitable that the trend would creep north across the border.

Sportswriter Leslie Roberts wrote the following in 1931 about the Americanizing of Canadian sport:

> Like a great many other things, the athletic viewpoint of this country has yielded to what is generally known as the American influence. I am not suggesting that it is a form of degradation. There are many arguable points, pro and con. But no matter the direction taken by discussion, the fact is bound to emerge that we are taking our cues from our cousins beyond the border, reconstructing our major games to appeal to the watcher rather than the player--because these games have become specialized branches of Big Business--and playing our own exercise--giving sports, as individuals, with all the grim determination peculiar to residents of Peoria and Podunk.
>
> There are, for example, three team games which are essentially Canadian; hockey, lacrosse and that matching of strategy and brawn which we have labelled Canadian Rugby. Each has fallen prey to the invasion of American ideas. Each has been, or is being, rebuilt with a view to making the turnstiles clatter more insistently, in the good old American manner....[45]

Roberts continued on to point out that Canadians had rebuilt hockey to suit the United States tastes. The game had been streamlined to please spectators with substitutions occurring more frequently, and the rules had been simplified. Amateur hockey which had been the ultimate goal of hockey players up until about the mid-1920's simply became a stepping stone to professional hockey.[46] In the 1928-29 season only four teams participated in the Ontario Hockey Association senior series--professional hockey was largely to blame:

> The rise of professional hockey has hit the sport a hard blow in this province, known as the leading developer of material in the Dominion. Star players, even as juniors, have been signed for minor or major league clubs, and as a result many fans lost interest. In vain the C.A.H.A. made an attempt to have professional clubs side-track players until the latter have reached the age of 22.[47]

During the latter part of the 1920's attendance figures at N.H.L. games increased rapidly. The N.H.L. reported a 22 per cent increase in total attendance figures from the 1927-28 to the 1928-29 season. The Toronto Maple Leafs were regularly drawing crowds of over 11,000 and in 1931, in spite of the depression, they set an attendance record of 13,542.[48] As attendance figures grew, so too did the players' salaries:

> There was also a time when $3,000 a year--incidently it was paid to Frank and Lester Patrick by the Renfrew Millionaires in 1910--was the highwater mark in salary. It is different now (1930), quite different. Even minor leaguers demand more money than that. They have learned that their services are valuable. They know that the magnates are reaping a financial harvest and they aim to make the most of their opportunities. Nelson Stewart of the Montreal Maroons started the high-salary trend when in 1926, he signed a 3-year contract calling for $16,500....
>
> The record sale price for a player's services was reached this year when Toronto paid $35,000 and gave Art Smith and Eric Pettinger to Ottawa for "King" Clancy.[49]

Lacrosse underwent a similar Americanization when it returned into public favour during the 1930's in the form of box lacrosse. The new version of the game was played indoors in the evening to attract the public so that franchise owners could earn profits on their investments. Box lacrosse was played by fewer men at a time with innumerable shifts in players, in order that the game could proceed at top speed from whistle to whistle. The game was twisted and re-shaped to make it an observer's pastime, "an industry rather than a sport".[50] Because it was realized that indoor lacrosse would make no hit in summer months, the magnates decided to have the games played in the spring and fall to provide ideal conditions for players and fans.[51] Sportswriter Fred Lorenson noted the Americanizing process that was occurring in lacrosse:

> When they tackle anything in the line of sport across the border they don't fool. They put as much energy into their games as they do into their business. And in lacrosse, efficiency marks all their activities. It must be admitted, reluctantly or otherwise, that Canadian sport organizations are gradually fashioning their games along the lines in vogue below the line. Every year, it seems, we incorporate some new features into our rugby-football rules that have been a successful part of the American code for some time. We laughed at them when they suggested the new professional hockey rules, but who is there among us now to rise and say those same rules didn't improve the monied brand of our winter sport?
>
> They saw merit in lacrosse which the majority of Canadians in post-war years couldn't. They adopted it as we gave it to them, experimented, added a few ideas and innovations of their own, and the result is the type of game that makes for a real spectacle.[52]

The Americanization of Canadian football was particularly evident in Ontario. Although there was initial opposition to the forward pass in the East, its crowd pleasing aspects were recognized, and it was adopted into the Canadian code in 1931. After Montreal imported Warren Stevens from Syracuse University in 1931 to cope with the forward pass, the importation of American football players in the East was on in earnest:

> Owing to the fact that efficiency in throwing and receiving forward passes continues to elude Canadian players, Big Four teams are expected to import more U.S. Stars than ever for the coming compaign, and it is said that a very prominent Q.B. from across the line will be with the Argonauts, while Montreal have 2 more U.S.A. stalwarts, in addition to Baysinger and Newton. It is also hinted that Ottawa will follow the lead originally set by Montreal, and there may also be a few new players in Hamilton.[53]

The residency rules imposed by the C.R.U. to curb the influx of American players were ineffective as the teams simply made certain that their American imports moved to Canada in sufficient time to satisfy the league requirements. Further rule changes such as the broadening of the interference rule, fewer restrictions on the forward pass and even the reduction of the size of the football to conform with that of U.S.A. indicated a growing American influence in Canadian football.

The tentacles of American influence in Ontario sport were felt in other activities, as well. In horse racing complaints were lodged about American control of Ontario race tracks:

> What, in the writer's opinion, is more urgently needed than lower taxation is the Canadianization of Canadian racing, at present, it is largely subordinate to alien influences. Americans make up a large percentage of the official "families" at our meetings. Americans officiate as starters, handicappers, racing secretaries, stewards and placing judges, our patriotic track managements evidently holding the view that Canadians are not competent to fill these lucratively paid posts. We know of instances where Canadian owners have been bidden to vacate stables at certain Toronto race courses in order to provide accomodation for United States turf establishments, whose horses were destined to race only for a couple of the big money prizes, after which they would return to American racing....[54]

In 1927, as a result of the marked increase of professional sport in Ontario, due to a great extent to American influence, the Ontario Legislature passed a bill by which professional sports--baseball, soccer, hockey, horse racing, boxing, wrestling, and others--were to be taxed 2 per cent of gross receipts to establish a fund for the encouragement of those engaged in sports which did not produce a revenue.[55] Then, in 1928, the bill was extended to include a 2 per cent tax on gate receipts or money prizes.[56]

It was during the 1920's that Canadians started to accept commercialism in sport after seeing it successfully in operation in the U.S.A. During the great industrial expansion which took place in Canada, and especially Ontario, during this decade, industrial and commercial support of amateur sport rapidly grew but not without some difficulties. The A.A.U. of C. had to revise its concept of an amateur to include "broken-time payment". The A.A.U.'s concern was so great that in the 1928 Olympic year a special committee, the "Industrial Affiliation and Relations Committee" was appointed to investigate the problems.[57] However, by the late 1930's commercial sport had fit into the athletic life of the country in a quiet way and was accepted as a matter of course.[58]

Commercial leagues in hockey, baseball, softball, bowling, soccer, and basketball were commonplace in Ontario by the start of World War II. Participation was high, and the calibre of competition varied considerably--from the highly skilled hockey star on the company team to the worker spending an evening out bowling in an industrial league. The trend towards commercial sport was particularly noticeable in Southern Ontario, for this part of the province was the industrial heart of Canada. Furthermore, it was located adjacent to a heavily industrialized portion of the U.S.A. from where the concept of commercial sport spread into Canada.

Increased interaction in sport with the U.S.A. during the inter-war period had added to Ontario's sectional outlook. It was more convenient, and often financially rewarding, for Ontario athletes to travel south of the border to compete than to journey long distances east or west for inferior competition. Consequently, usually Ontario engaged in competition with the Western or Maritime Provinces only when there was a national title at stake.

Ontario, by virtue of her traditional tie with Britain and her proximity to the U.S.A. had been introduced to a wide variety of sports. Its climate and geography were conducive to practically every summer and winter sport played in Canada. Ontario was a vast territory extending over fifteen degrees of latitude from a point as far south as Rome to a point as far north as Northern Denmark. Its breadth included twenty degrees of longitude from near the confluence of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers westward to the boundary of Manitoba, but a narrow portion forming a sort of peninsula surrounded by Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, and Huron, was the most southerly region, the oldest in point of settlement, and the most populous. The climate of Ontario was tempered by the Great Lakes. In contrast the northwestern portions experienced the cold waves of winter similar to the Prairie Provinces. The climate of the peninsula of Ontario was much warmer than that of the northern districts. On the peninsula spring arrived in April, and not until the end of November did the daily mean temperature fall below freezing. Farther north, spring arrived later and winter set in earlier.[59]

Like British Columbia, Southern Ontario had a long playing season for summer and autumn sports. Golf, baseball, softball, cricket, rugger, soccer, rowing, lacrosse, track and field, tennis, sailing, swimming, and football were some of the many summer and fall activities that enjoyed a longer season than that in the Prairie Provinces. The fact that Ontario's football season usually extended two or three weeks longer than in the Prairie Provinces created problems in setting a convenient date for the annual Grey Cup game--an issue that caused resentment in the West.

During the winter months in Ontario there was a move towards indoor sports. Activities like hockey, curling, and figure-skating that had previously been played outside were brought indoors as most communities had built arenas by the 1920's. The larger centres also provided artifical ice; for example, in 1926 Toronto had seven artificial ice rinks with three new ice plants opening later that same year.[60]

Other sports such as track and field and cycling, that had been restricted to the summer months became possible during the winter with the development of indoor facilities. In 1929, an indoor track was built at the Colliseum in Toronto, the site of the first indoor Canadian track championships. Half of the expenses for the track were paid by the Ontario Athletic Commission with money collected from taxing professional sport in the province.[61] Six-day cycling became extremely popular in Toronto during the 1930's, as can be witnessed from the following article written by M. J. Rodden of The Globe and Mail:

> That six-day bicycle racing has come to Toronto to stay now seems assured, and already thousands of fans have attended the classic at the Arena Gardens. Promoter Willie Spencer did his part when he brought some of the world's greatest riders to this city, and the daring pedal-pushers are doing their best to make the sport popular here....
>
> It is little wonder that the sport has made great strides here. The competitors give their best, and they do no loafing when they get down to business. It is estimated that 11,000 children saw Saturday's special race in the afternoon, and about 4,000 adults were there in the evening. 10,000 greeted the riders when the long grind began early on Monday morning, and 1,500 remained until 5:30 o'clock.
>
> The most popular team is composed of Peden and Audy with the latter receiving an ovation every time he figures in a jam or tries to win a sprint.[62]

The indoor six-day races were usually held during the spring before outdoor cycling was well in progress.

Just as in Western Canada two of the most popular indoor winter sports that developed in Ontario during the inter-war period were badminton and bowling. Badminton, as has been previously mentioned was particularly adaptable to both the rural and urban situation. On the other hand, bowling expanded primarily in the towns and cities. The growth of the sport in Toronto was similar to that noted in Winnipeg in the West. In 1922 there were 9 bowling alleys with 100 pitts in Ontario's capital city, and by 1926 this number had increased to 45 alleys with 641 pitts.[63] There were an estimated 75,000 bowlers in Toronto in 1926 and 100,000 in 1937.[64] The popularity of the sport in Toronto was representative of its growth throughout the many urban centres of Southern Ontario.

The trend towards indoor winter sport in Ontario did not detract from the continued participation in outdoor winter activities. The following article from The Globe and Mail is indicative of the enthusiasm in Ontario towards outdoor sport:

> There were long lines of people before theatres yesterday but however jammed the shows they had nothing on the out-of-doors as an attraction to holidayers. Golf clubs, parks and open fields--everywhere that there was an inviting knoll or patch of ice--were taken over by skiers, skaters, or tobogganists.
>
> Thousands of rosy-cheeked girls, young men and children spent the afternoon or all day in winter sports. Skiers mingled with tobogganists and bobsleighs, and little youngsters with ordinary sleighs on the hills of all local golf clubs. Public rinks and school rinks were jammed with skaters, and from residential parts of the city cars spread outward with toboggans or skis strapped on their running-boards.[65]

Skiing was by far the most popular of outdoor winter sports. The activity caught on in Ontario in the latter part of the 1920's and continued to grow during the 1930's. "Overnight, almost, the by-ways and the suburban slopes began to be dotted with youngsters eager to learn to stem, and make jump turns."[66] Throughout the winter months special weekend ski trains transported thousands of skiers to resorts in the Laurentians and the Gatineau hills. Ski enthusiasts who were unable to leave the cities were seen on local slopes.

In 1938 Brown estimated that there were 53,000 skiers in Ontario with about 15,000 of these centred around Ottawa and the Gatineau hills.[67] His estimate appears to have been on the conservative side for O'Leary reckoned the skiers in the Ottawa area to number 20,000 as early as 1930. O'Leary labeled Ottawa as "one of the great skiing centres of this continent and the world". On a wintry Sunday morning all the capital seemed to be on skis; the numerous parks and hills surrounding the city were dotted with skiers, and long trains of many coaches carried thousands of others to the Gatineau hills. All classes, all ages, and both sexes were included among the throng of skiers:

> From the Governor-General and Lady Willingdon to the most obscure worker, from Premier King and some of his ministers to the most humble-civil servant all in Ottawa are to be found at times on skis. It is the capital's predominant sport.[68]

Skiing was not just confined to the eastern portion of Ontario. Fort William and Port Arthur at the head of Lake Superior in Northwestern Ontario were cities so ski-conscious that the street-cars had special racks outside the trolleys for skiers to place their equipment. In fact, in 1939 Fort William was the site of the Dominion Ski Championships.[69]

As can be seen from the previous discussion, Ontario, with its diversity of geography and climate was an ideal setting for the development of a wide variety of sports--summer and winter, indoors and outdoors. In sport the province was self-sufficient, and there was little need for Ontario residents to look outside of their boundaries for activities that were not conducted in their own province.

In addition to being the industrial and commercial heart of Canada, Ontario, with approximately one-third of the country's population during the inter-war period was the centre of Canadian sport.[70] Sports governing bodies such as the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada (A.A.U. of C.) and the Canadian Rugby Union (C.R.U.), dominated by eastern representatives, were able to foist their will upon Western Canada and the Maritimes. When the

West initiated rule changes in sports like football and hockey or requested revision in the amateur code they were usually encountered with opposition from the more conservative Ontario which was protecting its sectional interests. Rule changes did occur, but only after Ontario was firmly convinced of their value.

Although the West did develop some athletes of national and international fame during the inter-war period, the majority of Canada's outstanding athletes continued to come from Ontario. Gladys Robinson, Leila Brooks Potter, Fanny Rosenfeld, Lionel Conacher, Charlie Conacher, Ted Reeve, George Lyon, Sandy Somerville, Ada Mackenzie, Joe Wright Jr., and Jack Purcell were but a few of Ontario's sportsmen and women who excelled in competition. In addition, a large percentage of the positions on international teams to the Olympics and the British Empire Games were earned by Ontario athletes who qualified in national championships. Add to this the fact that until 1935 Ontario perennially defeated the West for the Grey Cup, often by one-sided scores, and then perhaps it is not surprising that when sport was discussed Ontario assumed a condescending attitude towards the other parts of Canada, especially the West.

There were several factors which contributed to the general superiority of Ontario athletes over sportsmen and women from other parts of the country. The fact that approximately one-third of Canada's population resided in Ontario during the 1920's and 1930's gave the province a distinct advantage simply because there were more athletes from which to choose. As has been seen, the majority of Ontario residents lived in the urbanized southern portion of the province which was located near one of the heavily populated and industrialized regions of the U.S.A. Therefore Ontario athletes were frequently exposed to top calibre competition both with the U.S.A. and within Ontario itself. In contrast, the population of the Prairie Provinces was spread out over a vast region, and the lack of regular intra-regional competition prevented prairie athletes from developing to their full potential. Interaction in sport did occur between the Prairie Provinces and their neighbour to the South but certainly not to the same extent as observed in Ontario. Furthermore, Ontario was usually the primary destination of touring teams from Britain. Although several trans-Canada tours have been mentioned there were also many visits which started in the Maritimes and terminated in Southern Ontario. Once again western athletes were being deprived of top calibre competition. The Prairie Provinces suffered most in this respect, for British Columbia, like Southern Ontario, was characterized by a large urban population clustered together near a similar urbanized area in the U.S.A. In addition to its interaction with the U.S.A., British Columbia often played host to touring teams from Japan, New Zealand, and Australia as they competed along the Pacific Coast of North America.

Ontario athletes had other advantages as well. More and better facilities were available to them; the climate of Southern Ontario was conducive to a long playing season in outdoor summer sports; and with the abundance of industry in the urban area of Ontario there was extensive commercial sponsorship of sport. The fact that the majority of the national championships were staged in Southern Ontario or Southwestern Quebec was advantageous to Ontario athletes, for they had short distances to travel, whereas it was necessary for competitors from the extremities of Canada to endure long tedious train rides which undoubtedly inhibited their performances.

Not only did Ontario produce many of Canada's top athletes, but also it attracted star competitors from other parts of the country. Many hockey players who learned their hockey in the Prairies were lured east by the temptation of professional and "shamateur" hockey. Other athletes such as Ethel Catherwood of Saskatoon and Leigh Miller of Halifax, both track and field stars, moved to Southern Ontario to take advantage of the opportunities that existed for development in the sport. It is readily apparent that Ontario was recognized as the centre of sport in Canada--a place to excel.

Quebec.

> How astonishingly different is French Canada--"le pays de Quebec"--the land of Champlain, Cartier and Breboeuf, the birthplace of a race whose capacity for endurance and survival is unique, the very core of Canada's history. They had lived along the St. Lawrence for over 300 years, and no matter how far or how fast they may have spread--for they are a race whose fecundity is only equalled by the indistinguishable vigour of their pioneering spirit--they always think with tremendous affection of the "pays de Quebec" as their home. How, indeed, could it be otherwise? To them it is Canada. Even to the English Canadian, the presence of American territory on the south shore of the Upper St. Lawrence, seems almost sacreligious. Quebec, the oldest and most closely settled part of the Dominion, is the cradle of the French Canadian race....[71]

Statistics reveal that Quebec, with a population second only to the province of Ontario, certainly was the home of the French Canadian. In 1921 there were 1,899,277 of French descent out of a total of 2,361,199[72] while in 1931 there were 2,270,059 out of 2,874,255. Citizens of British descent numbered 357,108 in 1921 and 432,726 ten years later.[73] Thus there were two distinct ethnic groups within the province with the British segment being in the minority. Both groups contributed to the development of sport in Quebec but in somewhat different ways. Nevertheless, they did share a common factor--their sport was affected by the growth of American influence during the 1920's and 1930's.

In the rural areas where French Canadian tradition prevailed the trend towards the Americanization of sport was less pronounced than in the urban centres where the sport of French and English Canadians seemed to be equally susceptible to American influence. The impact of the U.S.A. was felt, to a great extent, in the two main cities of the province, Montreal and Quebec City which, together, contained almost half the total population of the province.[74] As in Ontario, through American influence, professional sport in the form of "big business" experienced a strong upsurge in Quebec after the mid-1920's. In the American game of baseball the Montreal Royals were revived in 1928[75] to play in the International League with Baltimore, Newark, Buffalo, Reading, Toronto, Rochester and Jersey City.[76] Sportswriter Leslie Roberts attributed "big business" and organization, both characteristic of American sport, as important factors in the revival of professional baseball in Montreal:

> Moneyed Montreal has discovered in recent years that there is money to be made in big time sport, if you go about it as you would tackle the job of marketing that new brand of self-shucking peanuts. Montreal has seen professional hockey come up from the gutters of honky-tonk to flourish like a green bay tree. Montreal has learned that you can get all sorts of nice people to pay money to see sporting fixtures, if you provide them with a good team to yell for, a convenient hippodrome and a place to sit where they will be comparatively comfortable and won't get their clothes covered with dirt.[77]

The financial success of the Royals was evident from the fact that in the early 1930's they frequently drew crowds in the range of 15,000[78] and 20,000.[79]

Both English and French demonstrated a strong interest in their professional baseball team, the Montreal Royals:

> Stand on the corner outside the exits when the game is over and the fans are scurrying home to supper. Watch the directions in which they travel. Here a car leads up for the English-speaking west end. Another fills with a load for the French-speaking east. Listen to the languages spoken along the curb and you will call it about a fifty-fifty break, French and English, with a preponderance of English on Saturday that is heavily counterbalanced by Sunday's French fandom....[80]

In addition, as in all other parts of Canada there was an intense interest in professional baseball in the U.S.A. with both French and English newspapers in Quebec carrying complete coverage of the World Series.

Prior to 1928 baseball had experienced a decline in Quebec, especially in the semi-professional ranks:

> The province of Quebec has "soured on" baseball. In Sherbrooke, Three Rivers, and Quebec City, where efforts have been made to operate so-called semi-pro teams, the promoters have given up. In Montreal the sandlot teams continue to draw well on Sundays only, and there the U.S. national game is making its final stand in Quebec. Golf clubs are springing up like mushrooms in the Eastern Townships, and lacrosse is making rapid headway. The Emmetts of the Montreal Independent Baseball League have gone in a body to lacrosse. They will not forsake baseball, but have asked for a schedule that will permit them to play both games. The Montreal Herald ascribes the decline of baseball in Quebec to the poor quality of the game played, lack of interest on the part of the younger element, and the tremendous popularity of golf, lacrosse, and other sports.[81]

However, after the Montreal Royals were revived in 1928 there was a renewed interest generated in the game particularly at the amateur level. La Ligue Provincial (Police, Choquette, Granby, Caughnawaga, Drummondville, Sherbrooke, Lachine, Sorel),[82] la Lique Metropolitaine (Parc Champlain, St. Alphonse d'Youville, Marleville, St. Barthélamy, St. Hyacinthe, St. Jerome, St. Cécile, St. Stanialas, Beaurivage), la Ligue Intercite (St. Lambert, Farnham, Kik, F.O.C., Contrecoeur, St. Denis, Dopolavoro, Royal de Sorel, Mile-End, and George V) were some of the leagues in which amateur baseball enthusiasts were able to compete.[83]

Hockey, as well as baseball, was subject to a strong American influence in that the professional game became "big business" in Quebec. In 1924 the Montreal Maroons became the second professional hockey club in Canada's largest city:

> Organized in 1924, prosperity greeted them as a stockmarket populace gambled away its soul, only to lose it in the 1929 debacle. Created to gain the support of the English-speaking citizens as opposed to the French-Canadian following which had been built up behind the Canadiens, and to help fill the brand-new Forum with its artificial ice-plant, the Maroons found that followers of the Wanderers were only too eager to cheer them on to victory.[84]

Inter-club rivalry between the Maroons and Canadiens was built to a feverish pitch and stock-brokers, money-mad and hysterical over players, on occasion were known to have invaded the team's dressing-room to offer them a thousand dollars each if they would win that night's game.[85] Expense was no object as the Maroon's millionaire directors cast about for talent. They bought Hooley Smith for $22,500, involved themselves to the extent of over $62,500 in bonuses, salary commitments and a purchase price of $12,500 to get Dave Trottier. They gave Dunc Munro $8,000 per season for three seasons, guaranteed Jimmy Ward $25,000 in bonus for signing and salary for three years--a total of $134,000 for four players.[86]

In 1926 the two Montreal clubs played in the northern section of the National Hockey League (N.H.L.) with Ottawa, Toronto, and the New York Americans while the southern section was composed of Boston, Pittsburg, Chicago, Detroit, and the New York Rangers. As can be seen from the following report on a game between the Maroons and Ottawa in 1929 large crowds attended the professional hockey games in Montreal:

> Plus de onze mille personnes ont été témoins de la rencontre de samedi soir, au Forum, entre les clubs Montréal et Ottawa et les fervents des Maroons ont pu voir leurs favoris batailler avec énergie pendant soixante-dix minutes pour obtenir partie nulle par un résultat final de 3 à 3.[87]

The Maroons had their big years financially from 1924 to 1932, but their overhead in generous salaries, in regal equipment, and provisions for the club had been huge.[88] It was not until 1932 that the first break in their fortress came. The downfall of the Maroons could be traced to the date that the S-line (Stewart, Seibert, and Smith) was broken up and its units suddenly and inexplicably sold to star elsewhere. The wreckage became complete when fraternization with the Canadiens started. The moment this became apparent, no longer was the illusion of bitter rivalry between the two teams maintained. Trades and exchanges between the two clubs took place and Seibert, Blake, Haynes, Jenkins, Miller, McKenzie, Roche, Chabot and Munro found themselves members of their allegedly hated rival's squads. The crowds fell off, and not even the world's championship in 1935 caused much more than a slight pause in the downward pace of public support.[89] Adding to the decline of the Maroons was the fact that crowds had dwindled in the face of a skiing exodus to the adjoining Laurentians and because of the growth of other participation sports.[90] The following report from Le Devoir in 1935 illustrates the drop in attendance at professional hockey games in Montreal:

> Les joutes qui mettaient aux prises les clubs Montréal et Canadien par les années passées attiraient douze et même treize mille personnes, mais les temps ont bien changés car ceux qui ont été témoins de la rencontre de samedi dernier entre nos deux clubs locaux ont pu constater que l'assistance est réduite à six ou sept mille personnes et l'on est à se demander si le hockey amateur ne va pas damer le plan aux pros.[91]

Finally in 1938 the Maroons were unable to continue playing in the N.H.L:

> Even the pleadings of the Maroons to the other magnates for assistance fell on sterile ground. Suggestions that receipts should be pooled were turned down cold, for professional hockey is big business now. It is every man for himself, with the weakest passing out.[92]

Indeed, professional hockey had become "big business", a business so big that only two Canadian cities, Toronto and Montreal, could support a team in the N.H.L. In 1939, sportswriter Lewis Brown commented upon the existing situation in professional hockey:

> I am concerned as to the future of Canada's representation in a sport which I have been brought up to believe was the Dominion's own. May I be pardoned then for expressing the hope that the moguls of the National Hockey League will build for the future to assure that Canadian teams will continue in what is the major domain of our great winter pastime. Under the circumstances, is it any wonder that I keep asking myself how long it will be before the two remaining teams, the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Montreal Canadiens, find that the financial returns are too meagre to cope with the millions behind the United States financed squads and that larger and wealthier cities, such as support major league baseball franchises, would provide more faithful fields for investment in hockey ivory?[93]

Thus once professional hockey was in progress the Canadian teams either had to keep up the pace with the large American teams or fall by the wayside. Montreal could support only one team, the Canadiens, and the Maroons passed out of the professional hockey scene and "big business".

The American "big business" approach to sport was particularly evident in the two combative sports, wrestling and boxing, both of which proved to be extremely popular in Montreal and Quebec City. Promoters such as Lucien Riopel, Ray Lamontagne, M. Létourneau and Alex Moore often featured both boxing and wrestling matches during the same session. To bolster the enthusiasm of the spectators they cleverly scheduled special events:

> Les amateurs de lutte et de boxe auront l'avantage d'assister ce soir à un programme de choix préparé par les soins de promoteur Lucien Riopel et qui commencera à huit heures quinze, a l'Arena Mont-Royal. Deux champions du monde, Jack Sharkey, champion des boxeurs poids lourds, et Don George, champion des lutteurs poids lourd, sont à l'affiche.
>
> Sharkey donnera une exhibition de quatre rondes de deux minutes après que Don George aura recontré Bibber McCoy dans un combat de championnat.[94]

Earl McCready, a former Canadian Olympic wrestler who turned professional was featured on several of the wrestling cards,[95] and even Lionel Conacher appeared upon the wrestling mat in the Mont-Royal Arena.[96] Lee Wykoff, George Zarynoff, Gus Sonnenburg, Ed "Strangler" Lewis, and "Gentleman" Jack Washburn[97] were some of the other wrestlers who appeared regularly in Montreal and Quebec City. Most of the grapplers were from the U.S.A. although the promoters usually referred to their country of origin, instead, in order to present a false atmosphere of national rivalries:

> Six nations seront représentées lors de la prochaine séance de lutte que le promoteur Lucien Riopel à mise a l'affiche pour lundi soir prochain. Il y aura un Russe, un Grec, un Canadien français, un Allemand, un Français et un Polonais.[98]

Almost daily reports on boxing and wrestling appeared in Le Devoir attesting to their popularity, especially among the French Canadian segment of the population. These two combative sports were also popular at the amateur level. Participation was exceptionally high in amateur boxing as can be seen from the fact that 1,500 boxers competed in the 1927 provincial boxing championships.[99] Similar amateur boxing events were frequently reported throughout the inter-war period. Nevertheless, the amateur boxer who wished to succeed as a professional usually had to go to the U.S.A. where the financial support and competition were:

> Les boxeurs Canadiens vont rapidement vers les premiers rangs comme l'attestent les succès de Frankie Battaglia, Jimmy McLarnin, Billy Townsend, Chick Devlin, Charlie Bélanger et Larry Gains.
> Tous ses pugilistes ont du aller aux Etats-Unis ou ailleurs pour obtenir l'expérience nécessaire au développement de leurs talents....[100]

The U.S.A. influence in sport in Quebec was not only evident in the previously mentioned sports. As already stated, the Montreal football team started the importation of American football players when in 1931 they brought in Warren Stevens, and throughout the 1930's the Montreal team continued to rely upon American imports as much as any other team in the C.R.U. When lacrosse was revived in the 1930's in the form of box lacrosse the Montreal Canadiens played in the International Professional Lacrosse League which included teams from both sides of the border.[101] At the collegiate level both McGill and the University of Montreal played in the International Intercollegiate Hockey League which included the University of Toronto, Queen's, Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, Princeton, and the two Montreal teams.[102]

In addition to the organized international leagues, exhibition games were frequently played between Quebec teams and their neighbours to the South; for instance, in 1924 the University of Montreal lacrosse team met the University of Syracuse at Molson Stadium.[103] An annual golf competition for the Leslev Cup, inaugurated in 1927, was held between golfers from Quebec and the states of New York, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania. Not until 1937 did the Quebec golfers manage to capture the cup.[104]

During the winter, American skiers were regular visitors to the Laurentian ski areas of Quebec:

> A regular flying ski service from New York and Boston is now advertised "four hours from the pavements to the snow."
>
> It is interesting the way the Americans have taken to skiing. When last in New York I noticed every shop was full of ski things, ski schools or artificial snow in the big stores, special trains to ski resorts advertised in all the railway stations. They are coming in increasing numbers to the Laurentians, and this year I venture to state that the reservations over the holidays will be largely those of our cousins from across the border.[105]

As well, Quebec was frequently the site of international snowshoe meets such as the one held in 1938:

> Le Congrès International des raquetteurs, tenu à Montreal sous les auspices de l'Union locale, s'est clôturé hier après-midi et cette convention remport un succès sans précédent. Plus de quatre mille

> raquetteurs ont participé a cette réunion annuelle et de toutes les gais lurons qui tiennent à suivre les traces de leurs prédécesseurs et à faire revivre les vieilles traditions Canadiennes.[106]

It can be seen that the American influence in Quebec sport was strong. The U.S.A. "big business" approach to professional sport became particularly evident by the mid-1920's. As well, there were frequent competitions and exchanges in a variety of sports with the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. Like Ontario, Quebec did not have to look far beyond her boundaries for top competition.

The British influence in sport was far less evident in Quebec than in Ontario. The majority of the people of British descent lived in the western portion of Quebec and more specifically, in the city of Montreal. In 1934, 60 per cent of the 1,018,124 people in metropolitan Montreal were of French extraction while most of the remaining 40 per cent were of British origin.[107] When touring British soccer, rugby, cricket, and lawn bowling teams came to Quebec they usually competed against the English-speaking teams centred in Montreal. Because of their proximity to the heavily populated area of Ontario, the English-speaking athletes of Montreal were able to engage in regular competition with Eastern Ontario.

There were a few activities in Quebec like curling[108] and cricket that were played almost exclusively by the English-speaking populous, but generally both groups competed in similar sports although they were polarized into teams with English Canadians on the one side and French Canadians on the other. As already mentioned, the success of the Maroons and the Canadiens in the late 1920's and early 1930's stemmed partially from the fact that an intense rivalry developed with the French supporting the Canadiens while the English rallied behind the Maroons.[109]

Basically, the sports interests of French Canadians were similar to those of the rest of Canada, but there were some characteristics that differed somewhat from the normal pattern. The two combative sports, boxing and wrestling, seemed to draw much more interest than they did in other parts of Canada. Both sports received extensive daily coverage from Le Devoir. During the winter months snow-shoeing occupied a more prominent role in the physical activity of French Canadians in Quebec than it did in other parts of Canada. Provincial, national and international snowshoe meets were held in cities like Sorel,[110] Three Rivers,[111] Sherbrooke,[112] Quebec City,[113] and Montreal.[114] The annual Canadian Snowshoers' Union convention, held in Sorel, P.Q., in 1922 was described in Le Devoir:

> La convention annuelle de l'Union Canadienne des Raquetteurs a eu lieu en cette ville samedi and hier alors que plus de huit cents gais lurons, répresentant les différents clubs de la province, avaient répondu a l'invitation de notre club local. Ce carnaval a remporté un succès complet et tous ceux qui ont pris part à cette fête annuelle se sont amusés ferme.[115]

Among the clubs participating were National, Tricolere, Trappeur, Salaberry of Valleyfield, Saint-Brigide, Coureur des Bois, and Tuque Rouge of Sherbrooke.

Snowshoe races, parades, and social events were all part of these special occasions. Spectator interest in snowshoeing was high as can be seen from the following report on the 200 mile snowshoe marathon race held in 1931:

> Le marathon de la raquette s'est terminé hier après-midi au Parc La Fontaine en présence de près de cent mille personnes et notre coureur Montréalais, Frank Hoey, a remporté les honneurs de la première position et de la bourse de $1250 offerte au gagnant de cette epreuve de résistance.[116]

Winter carnivals, in which sports played a major role, were also commonplace in most French communities in Quebec. Although the program differed somewhat from place to place there usually were events in dog-sledding, snowshoeing, skating, cycling (on ice), skiing, tobogganing, and hockey.[117]

Indeed, the climate of Quebec was conducive to the development of these winter sports. Even the warmest areas of Quebec in the south-west of the province experienced longer and colder winters than the southern peninsula of Ontario which was protected by the Great Lakes. For four months of the year in the St. Lawrence Valley, where the majority of the Quebecers lived, the ground was usually covered with between one and three feet of snow.[118] Ideal snow and ice conditions for outdoor sport usually prevailed throughout the winter months.

Hockey was by far the most popular of the winter sports with leagues, too numerous to mention, spread throughout the province.[119,120] With the growth of the skiing craze during the 1930's, this sport started to usurp snowshoeing's position of popularity in Quebec:

> Snowshoeing, which owes most of its present day popularity to the huge clubs and societies in the Province of Quebec, has lost many enthusiasts to ski-ing. This was only natural for speed always appeals to youth, and the art of walking on webs is not conducive to rapid locomotion, although some experts can turn in times which would make a track sprinter envious.[121]

About this transition from snowshoeing to skiing sportswriter, Fred Edwards wrote:

> The amazing increase in the ski's popularity has completely changed the winter scene in and around Montreal and Quebec City. Folks whose locks retain their raven hue have no difficulty whatever in recalling the days when a pair of skiis was a novelty on Mount Royal, and all the lads and lassies of the village tramped on snowshoes through the drifts, clad in blanket suits and wearing tassled toques on their heads.
>
> No longer....That famous old snowshoe trail known as the Gulley is a ski-track now, and for every snowshoe tramper you will find a hundred skiers, probably more.[122]

Edwards continued on to point out that after World War I the practice of skiing underwent a change in all parts of the country. A vast majority of the ever increasing multitude of skiers had become content to leave the jumps to the expert and to concentrate their efforts on the cross-country trails. Nowhere was that change more markedly in evidence than in the rural districts surrounding Montreal and Quebec.

In 1930 Percy Douglas, the president of the Canadian Amateur Ski Association, estimated that over any fine winter weekend between 20,000 and 25,000 enthusiastic skiers left Montreal by rail, by suburban trolley, by automobile or bus, and headed for the Laurentian foothills.[123] Ten years later he wrote the following account about the mass exodus of skiers to the Laurentians:

> Into this comparatively small terrain now pours during the winter season a great throng of skiers, young and old, steadily increasing in number year by year. Possibly the clearest way of indicating their number is to quote from the official figures of our two major Railways. Last season, from December to April--18 weeks--145,000 were carried to the Laurentians, an average of about 8,000 a week; over the New Year's week-end the C.P.R. alone carried 12,000 to the north country; 400 special ski trains were run during the season, the record, 875 enthusiasts on one train. Converted into money, the railways collected around $300,000, the Laurentians $700,000, and more. You can see that ski-ing has now become a big business enterprise, well organized under the Laurentian Zone of the Canadian Amateur Ski Association, and bringing in a tremendous revenue to the railways, hotels, stores, and the local people....[124]

It is not surprising that skiing significantly detracted from the number of spectators attending the Maroons' hockey games, especially on weekends.

Skiing in Quebec was not just an urban phenomenon. There was also an astonishing increase in skiing in the rural areas of Quebec with the habitant farmer becoming ski conscious and discarding the slower snowshoe for the swifter ski.[125]

The transition from snowshoeing to skiing in Quebec was representative of greater changes in the province by which the "old and traditional" had been succumbing to the "new and modern". Since World War I the spread of industry had been transforming the old rural world of New France into a region of crowded cities and great factories.

During the inter-war period Quebec had been going through the strains of the industrial revolution with trade depression and unemployment compounding her troubles. Out of this background of turmoil emerged a demand among French Canadians that the financial and industrial control of their province be wrested from the dominant English-speaking business interests. "Big business" had been denounced in the depression in Quebec as elsewhere, but here the racial division coloured the picture. Out of the growing clamor Maurice Duplessis emerged as the leader of the Union Nationale which drove the provincial Liberal government from power in 1936. Throughout his campaign Duplessis had emphasized the corruption in the Liberal government which, he claimed, had sold out Quebec to English "big business" interests.[126] Sectional feelings in Quebec were running at a feverish pitch by the mid-1930's.

In sport, too, this sectional outlook in Quebec was evident. English Canadians and French Canadians rallied their support around specific teams; in hockey the English were behind the Maroons while the French supported the Canadiens. The French Canadians tended to look within their own province for competition with others of the same tongue while the English-speaking athletes, centred around Montreal, depended upon their brothers and sisters in Ontario for athletic contests. When representatives from the two ethnic groups did compete against each other intense rivalries developed.

The Maritime Provinces

> There is a striking difference between Maritimers and other Canadians, apart altogether from the influence of their peculiar environment. The fact that these people speak of Ontarians as "Canadians", while it is a survival from the days when Ontario was known as Upper Canada, epitomizes this. Maritimers face the sea; their backs are turned on the Canadian hinterland. They look to Old and New England, and their transportation facilities link them to the latter. Their speech and many of their ideas are akin to those of the Maine coast; despite tariff barriers, women in Halifax, Yarmouth and Saint John frequently get their clothes in Boston and Portland. An old fisherman we met actually regarded the New England coast as an extension of Nova Scotia--a refreshing viewpoint.[127]

Maritimers complained that Confederation had not been kind to them, that it had shackled their industries, that in shifting the centre of gravity to the Great Lakes—St. Lawrence region, it had left them in a static condition. They resented being a "backwater" isolated from the progress and prosperity enjoyed in Central Canada during the 1920's. It is not surprising, then, that Maritimers turned their backs on the Canadian hinterland and looked to Old and New England instead.[128] As a result, strong British and American influences were observed in the pattern of sport existing in the Maritimes during the 1920's and 1930's.

There was regular interaction in sport between the Maritime Provinces and the New England States. Just as noted in other regions of Canada it was more convenient for athletes from the Maritimes to compete against athletes from the adjacent region of the U.S.A. than to travel long distances to Quebec and Ontario for competition.

The American influence was seen in numerous sports in the Maritime Provinces, but in baseball it was particularly evident. The Halifax Chronicle Herald gave thorough coverage to American professional baseball throughout the inter-war period. Headlines such as "BABE RUTH SMASHES OUT PAIR OF HOME RUNS"[129] and "YANKS RETAIN WORLD SERIES TITLE"[130] were typical of the sports page during the baseball season.

Around 1920 the success of professional baseball in Cape Breton and other areas of the Maritimes hinged upon the importation of American players:

> Baseball's wonderful revival in the Maritime Provinces is due greatly to the fast article of ball doled out by the newcomers to the game. Professional baseball was played in Cape Breton, a four team league operating. Several players were imported from the U.S. and big crowds attended.[131]

However, by 1923 the high cost of salaries for the imported sportsmen spelled the downfall of professional baseball in the Maritimes until the mid-1930's. Early in the season of 1923, Halifax, Yarmouth and Kentville entered a professional league which lasted only until August of that year. Due chiefly to long railway trips, the clubs lost heavily. Halifax had a fine team composed of seven imported Americans and three locals, and at the opening games the crowds were large. "But too many imported men, at good sized weekly pay cheques, forced the Halifax team to disband in August."[132] Yarmouth and Kentville completed the season, but their professional league was not renewed the next year.

In 1936 the importation of American baseball players was brought to the attention of the public when the Cape Breton Colliery League attempted to import five American players and stay within the jurisdiction of the Canadian Amateur Baseball Association. This move met with firm opposition from the amateur body.[133]

President T. L. MacDonald of the Maritime Provinces Branch of the A.A.U. of C. told the league delegates that he would not grant amateur cards to any imports--from the mainland, New Brunswick, or elsewhere. He stated that any team that used imported players would be professionalized and any teams that competed against organizations blacklisted by amateur leaders would be ruled professional.[134] As a result, the league composed of five Cape Breton teams--Dominion, Sydney, Sydney Mines, New Waterford, and Glace Bay turned professional and affiliated with the National Association of Professional Baseball to play class "D" ball.[135] The following report from The Chronicle Herald illustrates the success of the professional league after its inaugural year:

> In Cape Breton professional baseball was king, and Island fans enjoyed the fastest brand of ball in the Dominion outside of the International League. Ex-big leaguers and major league stars on the way up the ladder flashed brilliantly across the ball horizon and Glace Bay, led by Del Bissonette, took the championship of the classy circuit after a great series with Sydney.[136]

American influence was also apparent in the amateur ranks of baseball in the Maritime Provinces. In 1922 sixteen American baseball teams were negotiating with Maritime clubs for exhibition games that summer:

> St. Peter's club of St. John have arranged to accommodate 14 of the teams and the others will probably also be given dates. The Auburn's tour was a huge success last season and when the members of the teams returned to Boston and told of the healthy condition of the game in the provinces, other teams decided to tour the Maritimes in 1922. Most of the clubs after engagements in the Maritimes for 1922, are prominent in amateur and semi-pro circles around Greater Boston and Main.[137]

Indeed, during the 1920's and 1930's amateur baseball was in "a healthy condition" in the Maritimes with numerous leagues including school, church, and commercial organizations operating successfully. Throughout this inter-war period American teams were frequent visitors playing in exhibition baseball games and tournaments with amateur teams from the Atlantic Provinces.

The Maritimes also actively interacted with the U.S.A. in a variety of other sports such as hockey, speed-skating, wrestling, boxing, rowing, sailing, and marathon running. Sailing was one such activity that received a great deal of publicity in the Atlantic Provinces as well as throughout the rest of Canada. The launching of the famous Bluenose at Lunenburg in 1921 began a new era in the sport of sailing upon the Atlantic coast:

> From now on all references to Canada's representative in the great International Schooner Series must be expressed in terms of a *fait accompli*. Out of a nondescript but orderly confusion of frame-work and timber, the "Bluenose" evolved slowly and steadily until she is now a graceful clean-lined vessel, a schooner of unsurpassing beauty and one in which the aspirations of this Dominion are worthily embodied.[138]

Throughout the rest of the 1920's and 1930's Angus Walters captained the famous fishing vessel to victory after victory over the challenging schooners from the U.S.A. for the Halifax Herald International Fisherman's Trophy. Tremendous interest and enthusiasm on both sides of the border was generated in the annual races as demonstrated by the following report in The Chronicle Herald in 1931:

> The lure of ships and the sea seldom has been more evident than in the last few days in Halifax. With sparkling sunshine and blue October waters as a background the fleet Bluenose and Thebaud have made perfect pictures not only for the landsmen, whose interest in the life of the seafaring man is never-failing, but to those who seek their livelihood in the deep.
>
> Thousands of people have flocked into Halifax from all corners of the provinces, from Maine, Massachusetts and New York, by motor, train, and by all types of sea-faring craft. Hotels have reported business far greater in many instances than during the exhibition or similar attractions; garages and merchants are reporting increased business.
>
> Along the waterfront, particularly at the start and finish of the contests are great crowds, yesterday estimated at 30,000 people in all.[139]

Among the U.S. challengers that the Bluenose, skippered by Captain Angus Walters, defeated were the Elsie,[140] the Gertrude L. Thebaud,[141] and the Haligonian.[142] After her victory in 1938 over the Gertrude L. Thebaud there was a movement underway to retire the famed Lunenberg salt-banker and have her turned over to the Canadian government to be preserved as a national monument.[143]

Other international sailing events of lesser significance were also regularly conducted along the Atlantic during the inter-war period. The livelihood of both the Maritime Provinces and the New England States depended largely upon the great expanse of salt water to the east, and there they engaged in friendly competition, sometimes oblivious to the events occurring in their hinterlands.

Hockey was yet another sport in which the Maritimes actively interacted with the U.S.A. As can be seen from the following report in The Chronicle Herald in 1924, hockey was a popular winter sport with numerous amateur leagues acting as "feeders" for professional hockey in the U.S.A.:

> Hockey, as usual, was a successful venture in the Maritime Provinces. Large crowds, exciting games and genuine enthusiasm crowded into the various leagues. While amateur hockey outdrew the semi-professional, the latter brand was extremely popular in some parts of the province. Several good amateur players migrated to the U.S., where they made good, but the vacated places were well filled by newcomers.[144]

As well, American hockey teams from the New England States were frequent visitors to the Maritimes for exhibition matches. In 1923 a hockey team from Boston played games in Halifax, St. John, and Moncton[145] while in 1929 the following was reported about the New Glasgow club playing in Boston:

> The New Glasgow club of Nova Scotia won its two game series with the Boston hockey club by taking the second and final contest by a score of 5 to 2 before an enthusiastic crowd of admirers of the team from across the border in the Boston Arena tonight.[146]

In marathon running, too, Canadian and American athletes commuted back and forth across the border to compete in important races. In 1926 a Cape Breton distance runner, Johnny Miles, won the famous Boston Marathon. The eighteen year old youth from Sydney Mines, Nova Scotia, set a new world's record as he finished first in a field of eighty-eight runners which included Albin Stenroos, an Olympic champion from Finland, and Clarence Demar of Melrose, a four time winner of the event in Boston.[147] Then, in 1929 Miles repeated his performance, setting a new Boston Marathon record. He, of couse, was not the only Maritime athlete to enter the marathon. That same year Billy Taylor of Glace Bay finished sixth, Alfred Rodger of Dartmouth placed twenty-sixth, Danny MacDonald of Baddeck was thirty-ninth, Billy Cochrane of Windsor was fifty-third, Johnny MacDonald was sixty-eighth, and Bert Corkum of Lunenburg was forced to drop out.[148] A large number of New England runners usually entered marathon races in the Maritimes:

> Long distance running in the Maritime Provinces is growing more popular as the years go by and this year the greatest array of runners that ever assembled for one such event in Eastern Canada including such international stars as Clarence DeMar, of Melrose, Mass; J. C. Miles; Charlie Snell, of Toronto; Ronald O'Toole of Nfld. and others faced the starter on Oct. 23 in the 15th annual Halifax Herald and the Evening Mail Modified Marathon.[149]

Further examples of the interaction between the Maritime Provinces and the New England States in a variety of other sports could be cited as well, but, from the above discussion, it is evident that sports were a link in a bond of mutual interests between the two Atlantic coastal regions of Canada and the U.S.A.

As was the case in British Columbia, there was a strong British tradition in the Maritime Provinces. An examination of Table III[150,151] (p. 130) reveals that a large majority of the residents of the three Atlantic Provinces were of British origin. It is not surprising, then, to see that many of the sports enjoyed by the Maritimers between 1921 and 1939 were traditional British activities. Rugger, soccer, cricket, badminton, tennis, track and field, rowing, shooting, and horse racing were some of the more popular British sports.

TABLE III

RACIAL ORIGINS OF POPULATION OF MARITIME PROVINCES IN 1921 and 1931[150,151]

Origins	P.E. Island		Nova Scoita		New Brunswick	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
English	23,313	23,398	202,106	193,170	131,664	129,911
Irish	18,743	17,698	55,712	56,453	68,670	66,873
Scottish	33,437	32,489	148,000	139,992	51,308	56,561
Other	134	173	1,800	2,263	1,360	2,222
Total British	75,627	73,758	407,618	391,878	253,002	255,567
French	11,971	12,962	56,619	56,629	121,111	136,999
Total Population	88,615	88,038	523,837	512,846	387,876	408,219

Just as they had in the past, the Maritime Provinces continued to play host to touring teams from the British Isles, for the majority of these athletes from overseas disembarked at the port in Halifax. Since 1902 when the first official tour of Scottish curlers was conducted[152] the Maritimes had been the initial port of call for visiting curlers, and this tradition continued during the 1921 to 1939 time period. The following report from The Chronicle Herald in 1923 on a game played between curlers from Scotland and Pictou County in Nova Scotia is indicative of the public interest generated by these tours:

> With large, interested crowds attending the games all afternoon and evening and a fine spirit of hospitality prevailing the competitions with the Scottish curlers came to a close this evening at a late hour just in time to prevent the desecrating of the Sabbath which the Scots always keep.[153]

The Maritime Provinces were also the first stopping point for touring teams from Britain in other sports. In 1921 the Scottish soccer team began its Canadian tour by defeating Halifax seven to zero.[154] Then in 1925 six English badminton stars put on exhibition matches throughout the Maritimes to promote their sport.[155] A similar group played matches in Saint John, N.B., and Halifax in 1930.[156] During the worst years of the depression there was a lull in overseas tours due to financial difficulties, but they were resumed in the mid-1930's as groups like the English cricket team toured the Maritimes and the rest of Canada in 1937.[157]

An intense interest in British sport was indicated by the fact that The Chronicle Herald of Halifax, one of the main newspapers of the Maritime Provinces regularly reported British soccer, cricket, rugby and rowing results.

Probably the most popular of British sports in the Maritimes was English rugby or rugger which had freedom to develop because of the absence of Canadian football. The rugger leagues in the junior and senior high schools acted as training grounds for the intermediate, intercollegiate and senior teams:

> The Maritime High School Trophy was awarded to Fredericton High School who once again captured the New Brunswick Interscholastic Championship. It is estimated that over 500 athletes actively engage in this branch of sport each year which goes to show that English rugby in the Maritime Provinces is one of the most popular sports engaged in.[158]

During 1924 in Nova Scotia alone there were five rugby leagues including: the Junior High School, the Senior High School, the Intermediate, the Intercollegiate, and the Halifax City League.[159] Each year the senior teams vied for the McCurdy Cup, and the winner went on to play the top rugger team from Montreal for the McTier Cup, symbolizing eastern rugger supremacy.[160]

Halifax clubs dominated the rugger scene throughout the 1920's:

> Once again the McCurdy Cup emblematic of the Maritime rugby championship, will rest in the club house of the Wanderers at Halifax, who next year celebrate the diamond jubilee of the organization. The championship 15 from the Garrison City, this afternoon defeated U.N.B.'s rugby titlests in this Province (N.B.), by a score of 10-3, in a game that brought out some good and some very bad English rugby.[161]

However, in the 1930's the hardy miners of the Caledonia club from Cape Breton Island defeated all comers:

> In a one-sided game that left little doubt in the minds of spectators as to the comparative strength of the two squads, Caledonia senior rugby fifteen retained possession of the McCurdy Cup, emblematic of the Maritime championship. They defeated the Halifax Wanderers by a score of 27 to 6.[162]

As the popularity of the game subsided somewhat in Halifax it grew in other parts of the Maritimes:

> Rugby football, which in former days attracted great crowds in Halifax, and had visits from teams from Ireland and the Upper Provinces and remarkable Navy teams, apart from the rivalry for years between

> the Wanderers and Dalhousie University, did not attract the gatherings of the size in the past, due to the splendid showing of the Caledonia team winning the McTier Cup in 1932.[163]

Generally crowds in the range of 1,000[164] and 2,000[165] attended the senior rugger games.

Apart from the annual match with a Montreal team for the McTier Cup, the Maritimes had little connection with other parts of Canada in the sport of rugger. Not since 1927-28 when the Dalhousie team made a tour of British Columbia had any proof of the relative strength of the teams in Western Canada and the eastern teams been offered. On that occasion the Dalhousie team tied the University of British Columbia in its first game but lost the remainder of its matches.[166]

In Vancouver in 1935 leaders of the Canadian Rugby Union, the national body in charge of English rugby, considered the possibilities of staging Dominion play-offs for a Canadian championship. It was recognized that the chief difficulties to such a plan lay in the fact that the playing seasons in the East differed significantly from those in the West and that the cost of such a project might be too great.[167] Talk of such a final was still being conducted in 1938 when the Maritime Rugby Union finally affiliated with the Rugby Union of Canada,[168] but the outbreak of World War II halted all progress in this matter. Thus, during the inter-war period the Maritimers were forced to look within their own boundaries for rugger competition as they had little connection with other parts of Canada in the sport.

Cricket, a sport with a strong British tradition, experienced a revival in the Maritimes in the latter 1920's and the 1930's. In 1928 the largest crowd to watch a cricket game in the Maritime Provinces since 1914 saw the visiting Ridley College eleven of St. Catharine's, Ontario, administer the Garrison cricketers "a sound drubbing" by a score of 290 runs to 60 runs on their home grounds.[169] The following was reported in The Chronicle Herald about the growth of cricket during 1934:

> Enjoying its best year since before the war, cricket throughout the province held a considerable interest. Featured by strong teams from Cape Breton and Pictou County, who played a series of games during the summer months the game became very popular.
>
> A league with Halifax, Wanderers, Garrison, Truro and Windsor operated and with games between the various warships and English ships in Halifax the game gave indications of making a strong comeback. A feature of the season was the formation of a N.S. Cricket Association which will operate this year with all interested centers fielding teams.[170]

The game continued to make progress in 1935 and 1936:

> The fine old game of cricket, so distinctively British, maintained its recent revival in the Province in 1936. Some clubs failed to measure up either in keeness or playing ability to the standard of the last few years, but others, notably Wanderers and the Independents, experienced outstanding seasons....
>
> Prospects for 1937 are good and it is hoped to have a visit from an English eleven which will be touring the Dominion. This would be a great boost to the game locally and would demonstrate to the coming players the fine points of the game by those who have been carefully coached by experts in the Old Country.[171]

From the two reports quoted above, the British influence in the revival of cricket in Nova Scotia is readily apparent, for the visiting English ships in Halifax provided varied competition for local teams, and it was anticipated that a further boost to the game was to be given by the expected visit of a touring English team.

One ethnic group of British descent was particularly well known for carrying on its sporting tradition in the Maritimes--the Scots. From Table III (p. 130) it can be seen that a large proportion of the British in the Atlantic Provinces were of Scottish descent, especially in Prince Edward Island and Nova Scotia. These people made a significant contribution to the sport of track and field by annually holding their Highland Games which included most of the track and field events. The

Games had a tradition in the Maritimes dating as far back as 1838 when the Caledonian Club of Prince Edward Island was first organized. In 1848 the Caledonian Society of Cape Breton organized highland Games at Sydney; in 1860 the Halifax Caledonian Club was formed; and in 1863 the Highland Games at Antigonish were inaugurated.[172] All of these games and others continued to be held during the inter-war period, but the Antigonish Highland Games attracted the most attention. Just prior to the 1933 games at Antigonish the following report appeared in The Chronicle Herald:

> Enjoying steadily growing favour, and with the prospects of one of the largest and most representative lists in the history of the annual event, the Highland Games, Wednesday afternoon, promise to equal the best performances of the past. The Antigonish Braemer, firmly established as an unique Nova Scotian event, is regarded as the outstanding Scottish gathering in the province. Competing are the flower of Nova Scotia's track and field athletes, Scottish dancers and pipers, and it is looked upon as the equivalent of the Nova Scotia championships.
>
> The Highland Society for a great many years has promoted the Braemar annually. Its policy is to encourage and develop young Nova Scotian talent. From this course the Society has never strayed, and the popularity of the games provides the public appreciation of this firm stand.
>
> Some of Nova Scotia's most famous athletes were cradled in the Antigonish Braemar. Some of them were "finds" of the Highland Games.[173]

In curling, too, the Scottish influence was evident in the Maritimes. In the Public Archives of Nova Scotia it was stated that curling in Halifax in 1825 owed its popularity to the presence of officers of the army and navy and to other local sons of Scotland.[174] The Scots continued to play a prominent role in the promotion of curling in the Maritime Provinces throughout the rest of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century.

A quick glance at the names of clubs, cups, and personalities involved with curling in the Maritime Provinces before World War II readily reveals the Scottish influence in the "roarin' game". There were curling clubs like the Thistle and St. Andrew's[175] while the McLellan Cup was emblematic of the Maritime curling championship.[176] The names of the members of the Halifax rink that won the first Canadian curling championship, the MacDonald Brier Tankard in 1927, had a familiar Scottish ring to them--MacNeill, McInnes, Tory, and Donohue.[177]

Curling clubs in the Maritimes were affiliated with the parent governing body in Scotland, the Royal Caledonian Curling Club. In fact, to qualify for the Johnson Cup, awarded to the winning rink in Nova Scotia, it was mandatory that a curler's home club be affiliated with the Royal Caledonian Curling Club.[178] From the following report in The Chronicle Herald it certainly appears that most clubs in the province were connected to the central body located in the homeland of curling:

> For the fourth consecutive winter curlers from all parts of Nova Scotia will gather at Halifax Tuesday and Wednesday to compete for the Johnson Cup, emblematic of the provincial curling supremacy. The majority will arrive tonight and the balance tomorrow morning, coming from Kentville, Antigonish, New Glasgow, Bridgewater, Lunenburg, Cape Breton, Middleton, Oxford, Stellarton, Sydney, Truro, Westville, and Windsor, and with the Halifax and Mayflower clubs will make about four score curlers competing.[179]

During the 1920's and 1930's curling continued to increase in popularity:

> Curling has long been one of our leading winter sports, and this season promises to eclipse any in the past. New clubs have been formed in various parts of Nova Scotia, the older organizations are showing much vigor, artificial ice plants are being installed in several rinks, and many persons who had never entertained the idea of taking part in the "roarin' game" are learning of its popularity and spirit of good fellowship prevailing among curlers, and have joined the clubs.[180]

Although participation in curling was by no means confined to those of Scottish descent, the Scots most certainly played an important role in promoting their sport, adding a touch of Scotland to their home in the Maritime Provinces. In fact, all the British sports so ardently played along the Canadian Atlantic seemed to produce a sentimental bond with the motherland. The Maritime Provinces comprised a region of Canada bound together by a common British heritage reflected, to a great extent, in the types of sports which proved to be popular.

As well, the Maritimes interacted with the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. wherein lay further influences affecting the development of sport. The statement made by McInnes in the introduction to this section appropriately points to the two countries most responsible for the pattern of sport which evolved in the Maritime Provinces during the inter-war period--"Maritimers face the sea; their backs are turned on the Canadian hinterland. They look to Old and New England."[181]

In considering the development of sport within the Maritimes one must not overlook the role played by the climate. The Atlantic Provinces had a climate which in many respects was comparable with that of Southern Ontario. The winters of some parts of Southwestern Nova Scotia were warmer than in Toronto while in New Brunswick the southern counties had a winter with much the same average temperature as that of the upper St. Lawrence Valley in Ontario. The summers were not quite so warm as in Southern Ontario and the springs opened a little later. In the interior of New Brunswick the extremes of heat and cold were more pronounced than in Nova Scotia. The average precipitation of these provinces was between forty and forty-five inches except along the southern coastline of Nova Scotia where it was nearly ten inches greater. The snowfall was very heavy in Northern New Brunswick, where it exceeded one-hundred inches, but it diminished southward to Nova Scotia where precipitation accompanying winter storms usually was partly in the form of rain.[182]

The summer months were suitable for a wide range of outdoor sports which could continue until late November as was the case with the game of rugger. In contrast to British Columbia, the winters were much too cold for English rugby activity to continue during the winter months. Partially for this reason, difficulties were encountered in planning a national rugger championship which would probably involve teams from the two extremities of Canada.

In the winter, the inconsistent ice conditions in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island resulting from the moderating influence of the Atlantic Ocean created some problems for both hockey and curling as can be observed from the following report on a cancelled bonspiel:

> Swiftly rising temperatures brought competitions in the Pictou County Bonspiel to a premature close here this afternoon with postponement until next Tuesday.[183]

The construction of artificial ice plants in the latter 1930's helped alleviate this problem:

> With artificial ice plants now in many sections of the Province and the assurance of more to come followers of the "Roaring Game" look back on a season of excellent play and keen competition.
>
> From early December until late Spring the sound of sliding stones down the ice and the crys of skips was much in evidence, competitions were numerous throughout the Province, there being hardly a day without competitive play for spoons, medals or cups.[184]

Conditions were far from ideal for skiing and snowshoeing in most of Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, but in Northern New Brunswick where over one-hundred inches of snow usually falls, there was an excellent opportunity for participation in these two winter sports. Not handicapped with the same unpredictable ice conditions, New Brunswick also became known as a centre for speed-skating in the Maritimes. The 1925 international outdoor ice skating championships were awarded to St. John, New Brunswick.[185] Most noteworthy of the outstanding speed-skaters produced in New Brunswick was Charles Gorman who in 1924 captured the U.S. National Amateur Speed-Skating Championship and broke the world record for the 440 yard dash.[186]

With the trend towards indoor winter sport throughout all of Canada and the somewhat inconsistent conditions for outdoor winter pastimes in parts of the Maritimes, it is not surprising that sports such as badminton, basketball, and bowling underwent an increase in popularity between the two World Wars.

The Chronicle Herald reported that in 1933 badminton gained a stronger foothold in Nova Scotia with many county tournaments being held,[187] and in 1937 the following observation on badminton was made:

> This popular indoor game still continues to increase its membership and each season finds new players and clubs taking to the sport. A game of great physical benefit derived from its speed, it makes a splendid conditioner for other sports. A large number of outstanding tennis players take to the indoor courts directly after finishing the tennis season in order to keep their hand in.
>
> Practically every city, town, and village throughout the province conducts tournaments during the playing season which is climaxed by the Maritime championships which last season were staged at Saint John, N.B.[188]

Further illustrating the increased participation in badminton was the fact that in 1938 the Maritime Intercollegiate Athletic Union decided to include badminton as an intercollegiate sport.[189]

Basketball was another indoor winter activity which experienced rapid growth during the 1920's and 1930's. Mitchelson stated that basketball had been slow to develop in the Maritimes, but by 1922 it had so increased in popularity that it was second only to hockey as the favourite winter sport of these provinces.[190] Reports from The Chronicle Herald substantiate Mitchelson's statement. The following appeared in the Halifax newspaper in 1927:

> Basketball in the Maritime Provinces and Nova Scotia in particular has made rapid strides during the past season of 1925-26. The St. John "Trojans", Maritime champions, were in the playoff for the Dominion title and were only defeated after a clash with the Montreal "Wheelers" in the semi-final playoff on a total score basis of two games....

> In Nova Scotia, basketball has advanced greatly during the past season, practically every town in the province being represented in this branch of sport. In the Halifax section, one of the best years of basketball was witnessed for quite a while, the Y.M.C.A. senior and intermediate teams winning both leagues, senior and intermediate.[191]

Ten years later basketball was still on the upswing:

> This popular winter sport played in some centres as a major attraction had another successful season. Leagues in Senior, Intermediate, Intercollegiate, Interscholastic, and other countless branches all operated successfully during the winter months.[192]

Bowling was yet another indoor winter sport that had a strong following. Bowling results were regularly published in The Chronicle Herald, and it was not uncommon to see a sports page headline like "DARTMOUTH BOWLERS WIN MARITIME TITLE TROPHY".[193] A unique feature of bowling in the Maritimes was the playing of a version called candle pins, "...influenced unquestionably by the fact that this was the game most prevalent in the adjoining States".[194]

From the above discussion it is evident that badminton, basketball, and bowling became popular indoor winter sports in the Atlantic Provinces during the 1920's and 1930's. Their growth in popularity in the Maritimes coincided with a general upswing of indoor winter sport throughout Canada at this time. The inconsistent winter climate experienced in the more densely populated areas of the Maritimes was unsuitable for the development of outdoor winter sports such as skiing and snowshoeing. Consequently, Maritimers readily integrated sports such as badminton, basketball, and bowling into their repertoire of winter activity as participation in these sports increased throughout the entire country.

Another important factor, in addition to climate, that affected the development of sport within the Maritimes was the state of the prevailing economy. Maritimers had been engaged in their pursuits of fishing, fruit-growing, lumbering, and mining for over 200 years and thus were "wedded to the soil".[195] Unfortunately, they shared little of the post-war development of Canada; in fact, they were close to depression while other parts of the country were enjoying prosperity during the 1920's.[196] In 1928 while the rest of Canada was reaching the peak of an economic boom miners in Glace Bay, N.S., were receiving relief:

> Although this year so far has been one of distress for the miners of Cape Breton, it has not yet reached the acute stage that developed during the strike period of three years ago. Representatives of the men are, however, showing much anxiety over the situation because they know that unless the miners are given more than two days work a week, or sufficient relief is not forthcoming, they will be confronted with a very serious condition that might well approximate the conditions of 1925.[197]

The Maritimes were still facing their old problem, the fact that they had few resources left to develop after the age of wooden ships had passed away. Their area was small, good farmland was limited, and while Nova Scotia had excellent supplies of coal, that in itself was not sufficient to bring industry to this outlying region of the continent. The Atlantic Provinces still relied heavily upon the fisheries, but since the war fish prices had been low. The war time boom at the ports of Halifax and St. John was over, for the steel shipbuilding that had been started was closing down. Though Prince Edward Island had fairly well adjusted to a quiet but contented farming way of life, and though coal mines and steel mines on Cape Breton Island helped Nova Scotia, the Maritimes on the whole were almost at a standstill during the 1920's.[198]

The effects of these economic conditions could be witnessed in sport in the Maritimes. In some cases, as can be seen from the following report in The Chronicle Herald in 1924, towns were forced to drop out of leagues because their players had to move elsewhere to seek employment:

> Whether the Antigonish-Colchester hockey league will have its full quota of teams this year, or will only run in one section, will be decided at the annual meeting of the association to be held in New Glasgow Tuesday afternoon at four o'clock in the town council chamber.
>
> Last year six teams entered the league and two sections were formed, one consisting of Trenton, Pictou, and Stellaron, of which Trenton captured the title, and the other with New Glasgow, Antigonish and Truro as the contestants. New Glasgow topped this section and ultimately went through to the championship of the provinces.
>
> Industrial conditions are not good and it is not known whether Pictou or Trenton will have a team. Stellarton is anxious to place an amateur team in this league. A great many people have left Trenton, and some members of the hockey team have gone away, and it is not sure whether a team will be entered from that town. Conditions are about the same in Pictou.199

In other instances inadequate facilities dealt some sports a serious blow:

> On account of there being one rink in Cape Breton, that in Sydney, hockey has not the following it had seen years ago when Glace Bay and North Sydney each had rinks, and until those two great towns again build rinks, hockey in Cape Breton will not reach any substantial proportions.200

The depression brought on further hardships in the Maritimes, and in some areas sport suffered:

> Sport in Pictou County for the past year in all its branches was not up to the standard of years gone by. The reason may be owing to the depression which has existed throughout the County, the past year and also not alone this County, but all over the world.201

Hockey, in particular had faltered in Pictou County because Stellarton had lost its rink by fire in the summer of 1930, and there were no funds in sight to rebuild the facility.

This did not seem to be the general trend in sport that resulted from the depression throughout the Maritimes. In fact, H. W. Porter of the Annapolis Valley reported that in 1931 sport had been extremely successful:

> Valley sport in 1931 zoomed along at a pace that fairly astounded its most enthusiastic proponents. On all sides increased interest was shown, not only by attendance figures, but by a larger number taking on active participation in sports' various branches. This trend to

> "get into the game" rather than to be just a spectator is each year becoming more and more apparent....202

Porter went on to state that during 1931 hockey, tennis, and basketball showed the greatest gains in the number of active participants. Of these three, hockey, which was already the Valley's premier sport took the greatest strides forward. "The game spread like wildfire" with dozens of leagues ranging all the way from grammar school and tuxis boys' circuits to provincial senior leagues. Practically every village had its outdoor rinks and there were "leagues galore" in the county districts.[203]

A similar trend towards active participation in sport was evident in Cape Breton Island as well:

> Cape Breton has always been a great place for sport, and while there have been many changes in the popularity of various events and pastimes, there are few people who do not take an interest in some sport or another. Business men, and many in offices and stores, play golf, tennis, quoits or indulge in rifle shooting, while the men who toil in the mines or in the steeel works, find their recreation in baseball, football, soccer, soft ball or similar games, while they have the deepest interest in horse racing by both young and old.204

From the above quotation it is significant to note that the miners of Cape Breton competed in sports such as baseball, English rugby, soccer and softball--all sports that required a minimum of expense to play. A similar trend towards participation in inexpensive sports during the depression has previously been noted in the Prairies Provinces. Farmers and miners alike were severely affected by the depression and played sports which they could afford. Indeed, the general trend during the depression years was towards participation in activities in which costs were low.

Softball, for example, underwent tremendous growth during the depression years in the Maritimes:

> Softball became the most fastly increasing sport in the province. At one time during the year 147 teams representing some 2,230 players were registered in the Nova Scotia Softball Association.205

Soccer, another sport requiring a minimum of equipment and facilities also gained more participants in the 1930's:

> Soccer was also marked by a new found popularity in many centres, particularly Halifax. For the first time in many years the province was represented in the Dominion play-downs, and while the N.S. representatives did not come out on top, an impressive start was made toward bringing the game to a high level in this section of Canada. Leagues were operated in Halifax, Pictou County, and Cape Breton, and competition was particuarly keen during the year.[206]

Badminton also attracted a strong following in the 1930's. It is evident that because there was enforced leisure time, resulting from unemployment during the depression, participation in sport increased, particularly in those activities that were relatively inexpensive.

Professional sport, however, did not meet with the same success partly because of the depression and partly because the Maritime Provinces had a predominantly rural population. In 1931, Nova Scotia was the most urbanized with 231,654 of her total 512,846 living in towns and cities. Less than one-third of New Brunswick's citizens were urban dwellers while only one-quarter of Prince Edward Island's residents inhabited urban areas.[207] That same year Halifax was the largest city in the Maritimes with 59,275 while St. John, N.B., was second with 47,514.[208] Neither of these cities was large enough to support first class professional sport, especially those sports with a season of scheduled games to be played.

As previously mentioned, a weak attempt to organize professional baseball in Nova Scotia was made in the early 1920's, but it soon "fizzled" out.[209] A similar effort to organize professional hockey at this time made little headway.[210] Considering the size of the communities with professional teams, crowds were of reasonable size, but the towns and cities simply were not large enough to support first class professional sport.

An apparent contradiction to the above is the fact that in 1936 the Cape Breton Colliery League turned into a professional league playing class "D" baseball and met with considerable success:[211]

> With 5,000 rabid ball fans in attendance as jurors, class "D" professional baseball went on trial here (Sydney Mines) yesterday when the Sydney Mines Ramblers clashed with the Glace Bay Miners in the 1937 opener of the Cape Breton colliery professional baseball league.[212]

A closer examination reveals that in 1931 the four towns composing the league—Glace Bay, Sydney, Sydney Mines, and New Waterford--had a total population of 59,309[213] and were located very close to each other and hence were able to draw from the entire area for support. In spite of the general success of the Colliery League one of its members, the Dominion Hawks, were forced to drop out in 1938 because of financial difficulties:

> The Dominion club, operating under a financial handicap since they entered organized ball in 1937 found that they could no longer carry on with a team of colliery league calibre. They were faced with the alternative of carrying on with local players or withdrawal from the league. The league will continue with four clubs.[214]

Generally, then, professional sport did not enjoy the same success as did the amateur version in the Maritimes. The cities and towns of the Maritimes were too small to support professional sport with its extensive list of expenses. On the other hand, the operation costs of amateur sport were not as great, and it could function successfully with fewer paying customers.

Two sports which did prove to be successful at both the amateur and professional levels were boxing and wrestling. Boxing was a sport in which Maritimers had gained world recognition. George Dixon of Nova Scotia had held the paperweight, bantamweight, and featherweight professional championships of the world between 1889 and 1900 and Sam Langford, referred to as the "Boston Tar-Baby", defeated many of the world's best heavyweights during the first two decades of the twentieth century.[215] Interest in boxing continued on into the 1920's. In 1926, for example, fans paid ticket prices of $2.05, $3.05, and $5.05 to see Roy Mitchell of Halifax challenge Mike McTigue, the former light heavyweight champion of the world:

> Before the largest crowd that ever witnessed a boxing bout in Halifax, Mike McTigue, former light heavyweight champion of the world, won a 10 round decision over Roy Mitchell of Halifax, claimant to the light heavyweight title of Canada.
>
> There were 5,000 fans at the Arena last night and everyone of them left the building sorely disappointed over the exhibition between two fighters with reputations which McTigue and Mitchell have gained in the realm of fistiana.[216]

During the depression years professional boxing continued to attract fans while at the same time professional wrestling started to create a strong interest:

> Boxing, wrestling, both amateur and professional, enjoyed a good year (1934) throughout the Province. In the amateur ranks two sets of championships were declared. The Intercollegiate titles being decided at Dalhousie University and the Maritime senior championships being conducted in Charlottetown.
>
> Professional wrestling, now a permanent feature in some sections of the province, enjoyed a good season. Contested from early summer to late fall many outstanding matmen displayed their powers before large and appreciative audiences.[217]

Perhaps the relative success of professional boxing and wrestling as opposed to sports like hockey and baseball can be explained in the following way. With few exceptions, the calibre of competitors at the professional level in wrestling and boxing was not high and therefore these "pros" could not expect large salaries. The good boxers and wrestlers went to the U.S.A. where more money could be earned. It is obvious that the crowds that cities like Halifax and St. John could provide were large enough to pay the second class athlete but not the top calibre professional. Furthermore, professional matches were usually held only about twice per month[218] whereas team sports such as baseball and hockey had games much more regularly and required more local support. The occasional major match such as the one between McTigue and Mitchell created enough interest that boxing fans would travel into Halifax from the surrounding towns. It is evident that the Maritime Provinces were able to support professional boxing and wrestling but not team sports like baseball and hockey. The cities were simply too small and the citizens too poor to pay the price for first class professional sport as existed in Toronto and Montreal.

Because of the existing economic conditions in the Maritime Provinces--depression during a boom period in the rest of Canada and even more severe depression after the Wall Street Crash--professional sport suffered whereas amateur sport, in spite of a few setbacks, prospered with even greater participation becoming evident after the onset of the depression in 1929.

The Maritime Provinces were bound together as a section of Canada in many ways: they were located near the sea with similar climate and geography; they shared a common British heritage; they were closely linked to the New England States; they were "wedded to the soil"; and they shared similar economic problems. As has been illustrated, these factors proved to be influential in the development of sport in the Maritimes. Although a slave to the existing conditions, sport was also an entity in itself which drew the Maritimes closer together.

The Maritime Provinces were cemented together in yet another important aspect--they shared a mutual distrust of Central Canada or Upper Canada as Maritimers were still accustomed to saying. As can be seen from an 1886 editorial in the Halifax Morning Chronicle resentment towards Upper Canadians had been smoldering for a long time:

> The people of Nova Scotia know the Ontario or Quebec man but we know him principally in the shape of the commercial traveller. He comes here to sell, but he buys nothing but his hotel fare and in this respect he

> makes a rather ostentatious display. He is usually a genial sort of person, has a diamond ring, smokes fair cigars, "sets them up with the boys" in an off-hand way, and generally conveys the impression that in his own estimation he is a very superior being, whose condescending patronage it is a great privilege to enjoy. He spreads himself periodically throughout this province, in number he equals the locust and his visit has about the same effect. He saps our resources, sucks our money and leaves a lot of shoddy behind him. He has been able--at least the people whose agent he is--to have laws passed that compel us to buy his wares or submit to a tremendous fine, if we purchase from John Bull or brother Jonathan.[219]

The Maritimes complained that Confederation had not been kind to them, that it had shackled their industries, that in shifting the centre of gravity to the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence region, it had left them in a static condition.[220] In 1923 these complaints were manifested in the "Maritime Rights Movement".[221] Advocates of this movement regarded Upper Canada as a hostile enemy and argued that the British North America Act had brought to a sudden end the material and cultural growth of the Maritimes. Almost overnight, they believed, the Atlantic Provinces had been transformed into an economic, political, social, and cultural backwater. They felt that the provinces had been carefully bypassed by the flood of immigrants to Canada. Furthermore, old industries had left the provinces because of the advantages of Upper Canada, and new industries had not come. Young Maritimers had been compelled to emigrate, and old Maritimers had become increasingly bitter and disillusioned.[222]

The "Maritime Rights Movement" was provoked by the post-war economic depression that settled over the Atlantic Provinces, and although all Maritimers were not as strong advocates of the movement as was W. H. Dennis, the owner of The Chronicle Herald, there was a great deal of discontent evident within the Maritime Provinces.[223] The Conservative party jumped on the "Maritime Rights" bandwagon to drive the Liberals from power in the 1925 Nova Scotia provincial election, and then the issue was put to bed.[224]

Nevertheless, the movement had served to remind Maritimers of their plight in Confederation and rekindled resentment towards Upper Canada.

Some of the sparks of resentment were evident in the Maritimes' relationship with Upper Canada in sport. In 1925 the Canadian track and field championships held on the Wanderers' grounds in Halifax were a dismal failure with one of the smallest representative lists that had ever competed in the Canadian championships:

> Due probably to the fact that the more famous Upper Canadians were not competing, the interest as manifested in previous Canadian meets was missing. The championships were poorly advertised and to use the words of some of the outside athletes "we hardly knew that the Canadian meet was on", about explains the lack of interest.[225]

One cannot help but detect a cynical note in the above quotation. Obviously Upper Canada had not informed and encouraged its track and field athletes to attend the Canadian championships in the Maritimes.

Further evidence of Central Canada's ignoring the Maritimes in sport occurred at the 1928 Olympics when Silas McLellan, the only Nova Scotian on the national track and field team complained that he received very little attention from the officials in charge of the Canadian team. He claimed that the Upper Canadians received all the attention, and during the trip across he was forced to train mainly by himself.[226]

The Maritime Provinces resented losing their youth to Upper Canada where better opportunities existed. A similar situation existed in sport. After the Dominion track and field championships in Toronto in 1927[227] two of the Maritimes' star athletes were enticed to stay in Eastern Ontario. Dempsey Chisholm, the Canadian hammer throw champion was offered a job with the Toronto Police Force so that he would compete for their strong athletic club.[228] Although Chisholm turned down the offer, the other Maritime track and field star, Leigh Miller decided to move to Hamilton where he felt he would have a better opportunity to improve:

> Leigh Miller, native of Halifax, N.S., and a sprinter of no mean ability, is now a resident of Hamilton. He took up employment in this city on Monday morning and he told officials of Hamilton Olympic Club that he plans to remain there. Leigh is "sold" on this ambitious city, particularly because a young man athletically inclined receives proper encouragement and coaching here (Hamilton).
>
> He believes that by making his home in Hamilton he can realize his ambition much better than if he were to remain in Halifax, where athletes are not numerous because they have no one there to develop them.[229]

In hockey, too, there was a similar drain of talent to Upper Canada.[230]

After the onset of the depression, hockey became a major source of conflict between the Maritime Provinces and Central Canada. During the early 1920's there was little connection between Maritime hockey and the rest of the country.[231] Finally, in 1927 the Maritime Amateur Hockey Association (M.A.H.A.) affiliated with the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association (C.A.H.A.).[232] Hard feelings first started to develop when in 1930, H. O. Schryer of Bathurst, New Brunswick, president of the Maritime Provinces Amateur Hockey Association "...started house-cleaning by firing the first gun in the belated, yet not entirely unexpected war over imported players".[233] Nova Scotia was the first to be placed on the casualty list. Six players from Upper Canada shown on the line-up of the New Glasgow Colts were refused playing certificates by the M.A.H.A. on the ground that the residence rules of the C.A.H.A., with which the Maritime branch was affiliated, had not been honored.[234]

In 1933, the Maritimes won the Allan Cup for the first time when the Moncton Hawks won two straight games over the Saskatoon Quakers.[235] The Hawks repeated their performance in 1934, but at the end of that season a number of questions were raised in the minds of Maritime hockey fans:

> What will be the fate of the "Big Four" (Charlottetown, Halifax,

> Moncton, Saint John) now that the Maritimes' major circuit has relegated itself to the mercantile class. What status will the new league have in Canadian amateur hockey circles?
>
> What will happen if the Canadian Amateur Hockey Association executive decides on a change of venue for the Allan Cup final play-offs, depriving Halifax and Nova Scotia of its first opportunity to witness these great national contests?
>
> Why has the C.A.H.A. seen fit to deny transfers on a wholesale scale, without dealing with the cases of players individually?
>
> These and many other equally perplexing questions are being asked today by hockey-mad sportsmen of the Maritime Provinces following announcement that the Maritime Big Four League had decided to sidestep the C.A.H.A.'s ban on branch to branch transfers and become a mercantile circuit.[236]

The series of events that occurred in the next two years were enough to disturb even the most docile Maritime hockey fan. Half way through the 1934-35 season a makeshift amateur league was formed by the Moncton Hawks, the Halifax Wolverines, and the Charlottetown Abegweits so that the winner could qualify for the divisional playoffs for the Allan Cup.[237] Then, less than a month later the Moncton Hawks were forced to disband. The "Big Three" Mercantile League in which Moncton also played had suffered at the "gate", and when the C.A.H.A. ruled that they were ineligible for amateur competition the team ceased operation. This left two teams in the senior amateur circuit, Halifax and Charlottetown, with the Halifax Wolverines emerging on top.[238] The Wolverines then went on to capture the Allan Cup before a hometown crowd:

> Halifax Wolverines reached the rainbow's end last night and for the third year in succession the Allan Cup, emblematic of the world's amateur hockey championship, remains in the Maritime Provinces. While thousands of frantic fans went wild with excitement, Wolverines after a scoreless first period jumped a gallant team of lightweights from Port Arthur with a devastating attack in the second period.[239]

Finally in the fall of 1935 the Halifax Wolverines announced that they were withdrawing from the Maritime Hockey League, meaning the end of Class "A" hockey in the three provinces and no hope of retaining the Allan Cup in the Atlantic Provinces. Their withdrawal also reduced their chances of representing the Dominion at the Olympic Games in 1936.[240] The team that did go was a merger of Port Arthur and Halifax players. Further complications were encountered shortly before the team was to set sail for Germany. Four Halifax players announced they could not afford to go away unless some provision was made for their families, or in other words, they wanted the C.A.H.A. or the A.A.U. of C. or some other public-spirited institution to pay their salaries while they were in Europe:

> The four Halifax players might far better have asked for the keys to the mint. Didn't they know broken-time was illegal? Didn't they know they were striking at the very foundations of amateur sport? Sure, the players grunted apologetically, but maybe the grocer back in Halifax wouldn't understand.
>
> Amid resounding cries of "Shame", the four Halifax players were accordingly banished from the Canadian Olympic team, to be hastily replaced by Toronto and Montreal players whose sense of propriety was stronger and whose children--the cynics remarked--perhaps had smaller appetites.[241]

Maritimers lay the majority of the blame for this series of unfortunate incidents upon the C.A.H.A. which, until 1935 was comprised mainly of the same men who ran the A.A.U. of C., that is, Upper Canadian officials.[242] Like the West, the Maritimes felt that the obsolete amateur code was operating to the advantage of Upper Canada and, once again, that Central Canada was exploiting the Atlantic Provinces.

In 1924 The Chronicle Herald reported that the rules of amateur sport, as laid down by the Canadian Union were none too popular in the Maritimes, and the day was not far distant when great changes would be made in the rules to give the athletes more leeway.[243] Changes did come, but much too slowly to suit the taste of Maritimers and Western Canadians. The feeling of distrust existing in the Maritimes toward Central and even Western Canada is well illustrated in the following report in The Chronicle Herald in 1935:

> Subtle manoeuvering by Western Canada officials to have the annual meeting of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada taken from Halifax and given to Winnipeg, has raised a storm of protest throughout the Maritime Branch of the governing body of Canadian amateur sport.
>
> Following unsuccessful efforts to have the Allan Cup games taken from N.S., an under-cover campaign was started to force Wolverines to play in another series before going to the Olympic Games. The prompt indignant reaction of Maritime sportsmen forced officials of the C.A.H.A. to brand the story a "wild rumor" and reiterate their decision to send the Wolves abroad.
>
> But the feeling in Central and Western Canada is that the East is getting too much publicity and the latest move sponsored by W. A. Fry of Drummondville, Ontario, president of the A.A.U. is to have the annual meeting originally scheduled for Halifax in November changed to Winnipeg.[244]

Maritimers strongly resented the control that Upper Canada attempted to exert over her sporting destiny.

The following poem aptly depicts the Maritime attitude towards Upper Canada:

> Would you barter the rights that your fathers have won,
> No! Let them descend from father to son,
> For a few thousand dollars Canadian gold,
> Don't let it be said that our birthright was sold.
> Nova Scotia's face turns to Britain
> Her back to the Gulf
> Come near at your peril
> Canadian wolf![245]

In sport, too, the Atlantic Provinces regarded Central Canada as the "Canadian wolf".

Summary

During the inter-war period the development of sport in each of the three regions of Eastern Canada was characterized by features which distinguished Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces from one another. As previously noted in the West, sport in the East was influenced by the U.S.A., but not to the same extent in each region. The Americanization of Canadian sport was particularly noticeable in Southern Ontario where there was a large urban population and widespread industrialization just as there was in the adjacent area of the U.S.A. The fact that several large American cities were a mere "stone's throw" from Ontario centres and were connected by an extensive north-south system of roads and railways meant that there was frequent interaction in sport. In addition to the common leagues, there were numerous special sports events in which athletes from both Ontario and the U.S.A. competed. Ontario newspapers reported American sports news regularly, hence focussing the attention of local fans upon professional sport in the U.S.A. It was in this realm of professionalism that the American influence upon sport in Southern Ontario could be most clearly distinguished from that in Quebec and the Maritime Provinces. During the 1920's and 1930's the American "big business" approach to professional sport became more and more evident in the rapidly expanding urban centres of Southern Ontario. Professional teams such as the Toronto Maple Leafs of the N.H.L. were highly organized with an executive of experienced businessmen who endeavoured to make sport a profitable business. Players were paid high salaries and their success was measured both on the ice and at the "gate". Similarly, professional sport became "big-business" in Quebec's largest city, Montreal, but the rest of this province resembled the Maritime Provinces in that communities were simply too small to support sport on such a gradiose scale.

Since Southern Ontario was the most highly industrialized area of Canada the American concept of commercial or industrial sport first achieved general acceptance in this province. In the urban centres of Quebec commercial sport also gained a foothold, but in the rural areas where most citizens were French-speaking the American influence in this aspect of sport was less noticeable, for French Canadian tradition was still deeply rooted in an agrarian life style centred around the parish. Industrial or commercial sport was certainly observed in the Maritime Provinces but it was not as extensively developed as it was in Ontario where major industry prevailed.

It should be emphasized that there was American influence upon sport in both Eastern and Western Canada. In the West it was greatest in British Columbia while in the East it was strongest in Ontario. Whatever the extent of Americanization in sport, it has been observed that each region looked to the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. for regular competition. By the start of World War II air travel had not yet developed sufficiently to provide athletes with a quick means of transportation from one part of the nation to another. Generally it was more convenient for athletes to travel south of the border to compete than it was to journey long distances east or west to other regions of Canada. This was detrimental to the development of inter-regional competition within this country. Had Canada not interacted so extensively with the U.S.A. in sport, inter-regional competition within this country might have developed more rapidly than it did.

The extent of British influence in sport in Eastern Canada also varied from region to region. Ontario, a province with a strong British tradition, was usually the primary destination of touring teams from the British Isles, and several typically British sports such as soccer, cricket, rowing, golf, track and field, sailing, lawn bowling, shooting, badminton, and curling were popular. Likewise, the British tradition was strong in the Maritime Provinces. In this region a large proportion of the people were of British descent, and naturally they favoured sports from their homeland. The Maritime Provinces shared with British Columbia the reputation of possessing the highest calibre of English rugby in Canada. Furthermore, the three Atlantic Provinces were usually the first stopping points for touring British teams that were travelling to Ontario.

Unlike Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, Quebec was predominantly French Canadian. The main indication of British influence was observed in Montreal where those of British descent played sports from their country of origin. When touring British soccer, rugby, cricket, and lawn bowling teams visited Quebec they usually competed against the English-speaking teams centred in Montreal. By the 1920's French Canadians participated in many British sports, but there were a few activities such as cricket, lawn bowling, and curling that were still played almost exclusively by the English-speaking populous. Generally both ethnic groups competed in similar sports although they were polarized into teams with English Canadians on the one side and French Canadians on the other.

The development of sport in each of the three eastern regions could be distinguished by other features as well. Consider the effect of climate upon sport in Eastern Canada. Like British Columbia, Southern

Ontario had a longer playing season in summer and autumn sports. This gave Ontario athletes a distinct advantage in outdoor activities and was a contributing factor to the superiority of Ontario sportsmen and women. As also noted in the Maritime Provinces, the mild winters of Southern Ontario created unpredictable ice conditions for sports such as hockey, curling, and figure-skating. There was a need for artificial ice, and during the 1920's and 1930's as technological advancements were made there was a rapid increase in the number of artificial ice surfaces in Southern Ontario. Toronto alone, in 1926, had seven artificial ice arenas, the most in any Canadian city. Similarly, rinks with artificial ice were constructed in the Maritime Provinces but not as extensively as in Ontario because there were fewer people and less funds available. The increased construction of arenas with artificial ice was in keeping with the general trend towards indoor winter sport noted throughout all of Canada during the inter-war period. In Ontario this trend was particularly noticeable because facilities for indoor sports such as bowling, badminton, and basketball multiplied rapidly in the expanding urban centres.

On the other hand, Quebec's climate was more suitable for the development of outdoor winter sport. Even the warmest areas in the Southwest experienced longer and colder winters than the southern peninsula of Ontario. In contrast to Southern Ontario and the Maritime Provinces, Quebec usually had ideal snow and ice conditions for winter activity. Winter carnivals or festivals featuring outdoor sports were commonplace in the villages of Quebec, and the sport of snowshoeing still retained a great deal of popularity. Furthermore, as participation in skiing increased, the Laurentians in Quebec attracted large numbers of ski enthusiasts from other parts of the province as well as from Ontario and the U.S.A.

From the above discussion it is evident that the development of sport in Ontario, Quebec and the Maritimes could be distinguished by certain characteristics such as the effect of climate and the extent of British and American influence. Similar differences were observed in the West, but there the two regions were bound together by a common feeling of hostility towards Ontario. In this respect the East was divided, for both Quebec and the Maritime Provinces also resented Ontario's dominance in industry, commerce, and sport. Ontario was the scapegoat for many of the social and economic ills that befell the country during the 1920's and 1930's. Likewise, in sport the wrath of all the other regions of Canada fell upon Ontario.

FOOTNOTES

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[6] Ibid., September 14, 1923.

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[12] J. Lewis Brown, "Canada's Place in Cricket," National Home Monthly, July, 1937; hereafter referred to as "Canada's Place in Cricket".

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[36] *Ibid.*, December 20, 1933.

[37] *Ibid*., March 20, 1925.

[38] *Ibid*., September 1, 1931.

[39] *Ibid*., January 17, 1927.

[40] *Ibid*., August 27, 1927.

[41] *Ibid*., August 30, 1928.

[42] *Ibid*., August 31, 1929.

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[48] *Ibid*., November 13, 1931.

[49] *Ibid*., October 30, 1930.

[50] Roberts, "Americanizing Canadian Sport," p. 41.

[51] *The Globe and Mail*, February 9, 1932.

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CHAPTER IV

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS AFFECTING SPORT

The pattern of sport within a country is the product of a wide variety of interacting technological, social, political, and economic factors. The most significant factors affecting the development of sport within Canada during the 1920's and 1930's will now be examined in order to account for the trends already noted in earlier sections and to illustrate and explain, when possible, other trends in sport not previously mentioned.

Technology

Jobling noted that during the 19th century technology significantly affected sport in Canada.[1] Similarly, progress in technology played an important role in the development of sport in Canada between the two world wars. For convenience, the technological innovations affecting sport will be categorized under the three topics of transportation, communication, and facilities and equipment.

During this time period great advancements were made in transportation with the astounding achievements in aviation attracting the most attention. In 1927 Lindbergh completed his non-stop flight from New York to Paris:

> When Captain Charles A. Lindbergh arrived in Paris from New York last night, safe and sound, a crowd of at least 25,000 surrounded his plane, the "Spirit of St. Louis". The airman was lifted from the seat, where for two days and a night he sat fixed, guiding his plane over land and sea and for 40 minutes he was hardly able to talk or do

> anything else, except let himself be carried along by a mass of men made delirious with joy at his achievement.[2]

Giant dirigibles loomed across the skies and drew crowds of curious onlookers wherever they appeared:

> Ottawa and Hull turned out in force tonight to see R-100 sweep in from Montreal, circle over the city, pass twice over the parliament buildings and dip its nose above the Victory Tower in respect to Canada's war dead. While people scanned the skies from hundreds of roofs and vantage points throughout the two cities it was on parliament hill that the great crowds assembled.[3]

Unfortunately, numerous disasters involving dirigibles throughout the world such as the U. S. Shenandoah in 1925, the Italia in 1928, the British R-101 in 1930, the U. S. Akron in 1933, and the Hindenburg in 1937 sounded the death knell for the famous air ships.[4] They never did become truly functional in Canada.

In 1930 the construction of the first phase of the trans-Canada airway was far enough advanced to allow regular air service from Winnipeg to Calgary and Edmonton. Then in the summer of 1933 construction was recommenced on the airline as a measure to curb unemployment, and by 1934 some 6,000 men were at work in British Columbia, Ontario, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces. Negotiations brought the project within sight of realization in the summer of 1937 when the Canadian government passed the Trans-Canada Air Lines Act by which a corporation was created known as the Trans-Canada Air Lines.[5] On October 1, 1938, regular air-mail service started between Montreal and Vancouver,[6] and in April, 1939, the first daily transcontinental passenger carrying flights commenced.[7]

Prior to World War II air travel by sports organizations was virtually non-existent. In fact, the only reference found to a team travelling by air was in the Free Press in 1935 referring to the San Antonio miners who flew to Winnipeg from the isolated region of Eastern

Manitoba:

> For the first time in its history Winnipeg is playing host to hockeymen who travel by air. Friday evening the San Antonio Miners winged into town and Saturday night at the Amphitheatre will open the Manitoba senior championship play-off against the Falcons.
>
> Three planes were used to transport the Miners and their equipment to Winnipeg for the important play-off, and thev even carried their own drinking water....[8]

Generally athletes travelled long distances by train on one of the two transcontinental railways, the Canadian Pacific Railway or the Canadian National Railway. Had air travel been available in 1927 perhaps the Regina football team would have entered the Grey Cup final in Eastern Ontario. At that time a Canadian final would have necessitated Regina's absence from home for practically a month, including the time required to play a western final at the Coast. This of course, was out of the question for the non-professional Regina team.[9]

In an interview, Percy Williams, the double gold medal winner in the 1928 Olympics, stated that travel was an important factor in performance during his competitive days. After five tedious days on the train to reach Eastern Canada from Vancouver, an athlete could hardly be expected to perform at top level. Also, the working man often could not afford to miss several days of work without some form of financial recompense. Nevertheless, the A.A.U. of C. strongly opposed any form of lost-time payment.[10] It is little wonder that East-West competition was usually restricted to national championships and that British Columbia, in particular, looked to the U.S.A. for competition.

Although the railways proved to be slow they remained the main means of transportation for inter-regional competition during the inter-war years. They also played an important role at the local level transporting athletes from one town to another, often at special rates. For instance, the growth in the popularity of skiing during the 1930's was partially the result of improved rail services into ski resort areas. Prior to the construction of branch lines many of these ski areas had been isolated from the outsiders. In order to encourage the growing interest in skiing, the major railways began to offer special rates on weekend ski trains from Toronto to Collingwood, Montreal to the Laurentians, Winnipeg to La Riviere, Edmonton to Jasper, and Calgary to Banff. As a result, virgin country further from the large centres of population became more attractive to skiers, and they developed rapidly during the 1930's.[11]

Between the two wars considerable advancement was made in highway transport. The number of registered vehicles increased from 277,000 in 1918 to 1,500,000 in 1940. The increasing acceptance of motor vehicles and their rising number forced the development of the highway network. Initially, because of the limited operating radius of motor vehicles, road traffic was of a predominantly local character, which was reflected in the local rather than the national or regional character of the highways.[12] During the depression highway building programs were conducted across the land to provide employment. One such project was mentioned in the Vancouver Sun:

> A road work program capable of giving employment to 15,000 men if necessity demands and funds permit has been submitted for approval by the Federal Government's Hon. R. W. Bruhn, Minister of Public Works, announced today.
>
> Twelve trunk roads on Vancouver Island, three trans-provincial routes and north and south connecting highways are included in the minister's work schedule....[13]

The system planning approach on the provincial level and the construction of the Trans-Canada Highway were post-Second World War developments.[14]

The rapid increase in the number of cars on the road and the consequent development of regional highways facilitiated intra-regional competition in almost every imaginable sport. In an article in Maclean's Magazine in 1930 Henry Roxborough outlined how the automobile had affected the popular game of golf. He stated that the "gasoline chariot" had made a twofold contribution. First, the startling popularity of motoring and the increased speeds of cars, buses, and trucks, made highway hiking dangerous, and so the pedestrian was forced from the roads onto the golf links for exercise. Second, had it not been for the motor car's ground-covering ability golf courses could have been constructed only on expensive property close to large cities or bordering on railway lines, but the car made it possible for popular clubs to be located twenty or thirty miles from business centres. "So Henry Ford and his successors have made no mean contribution to golf."[15]

In addition, the automobile opened the avenue to an entirely new sport, auto-racing. These races were featured as a part of sports day celebrations such as the 300th year anniversary in Three Rivers, Quebec.[16] Auto-races were commonplace in the U.S.A. as world-renowned drivers like Sir Malcolm Campbell regularly established new world's records at Daytona Beach,[17,18] but they were much more of a novelty in Canada. In fact, in Halifax in 1935 no Canadian firm would underwrite a $40,000 public liability policy protecting spectators against any accident which might have resulted at the Exhibition automobile races. Finally Lloyd's of London, England, agreed to provide the insurance policy.[19]

Around the mid-1920's another motorized sport, powerboat racing became a recognized activity in Canada. Speeds recorded at that time were in the neighbourhood of twenty to thirty miles per hour but ten years later speeds of more than sixty miles per hour were registered. "Every summer watering-place of any size..." held an annual regatta in which powerboat racing played an important role. In addition, across Canada each year were held a number of big meets under the sanction of the Canadian Power Boat Association.[20] The powerboat races at the C.N.E. were one of the major attractions of the year while the regatta at Valleyfield, Quebec, started in 1938, drew a crowd of approximately 30,000.[21] The growth of powerboat racing portended the decline in popularity of those aquatic sports that depended upon muscle and wind for locomotion. The installation of engines in the famous Bluenose in 1936 seemed to signify the end of an era in aquatic sport:

> Salt-tanged breezes which scudded the Bluenose to successive triumphs fell short in providing sustained speed required in modern fishing. Captain Angus Walters, confirmed the announcement the queen of the Atlantic fishing fleets was to have engines installed.
> But the installation of engines won't prevent the champion racer from participation in future races, Captain Walters opined.
> The vessel's bowsprit, topmast and main boom are to be removed, but these changes would make little difference for they could be replaced to put the vessel in racing trim.
> "A vessel without power can't get anywhere in fishing these days," Captain Walters confided, and a sorrowful note crept into his voice.
> According to Captain Walters, dependability on wind alone placed the sailing vessel at too great a disadvantage in competition with other vessels equipped with auxiliary power.[22]

Technological advancements in transportation brought about changes in Canadian sport, with the rapid growth in the use of the automobile being particularly significant.

Technological progress was also made in communication, with the radio being especially important in the promotion of sport. In 1933 there were 761,288 licenced radio receivers in Canada, an increase of 162,930 in just one year.[23] The radio helped to break down the isolation of rural areas, for in 1933 there was a total of 116,354 radios for the 728,623 farms in the Dominion.[24] The following vividly depicts a hockey broadcast on the Canadian prairie:

> In the little farm kitchen, way out at the Back of Beyond lamplight and firelight made a square of cosy warmth and light. To the little mother it seemed like a fortress against stark loneliness, surrounded as they were by bush on one side and miles of desolate grey prairie on the other. The long delayed spring was the most depressing season of the year, to one who had been city-bred.
>
> In the corner of the room, on a packing box which was neatly covered with grey cretonne, was set that bit of wood, wire and crystal which miraculously opened a door to the great world of radio. This was the radio!
>
> In a moment everyone in that little farm kitchen is listening eagerly--touched by the same sensation that is swaying five thousand other Canadians in the big Amphitheatre in the city. It seemed as if some of that electric atmosphere had surged through the microphone, across the currents of air, to that little outpost against the wilderness.[25]

Hockey broadcasts were by far the most popular form of radio entertainment surpassing programs like Jack Benny, Lawrence Tibbett, Wayne King, Frank Parker, Gaiety and Romance, Gentleman Jim, and the Youngbloods in listening audiences. Foster Hewitt's salutation, "Hello Canada and hockey fans in Newfoundland and the United States",[26] beginning his broadcasts from the Gondola at the Maple Leaf Gardens was heard across the land. By 1933 even Vancouver hockey fans were able to enjoy Foster Hewitt's broadcasts. Radio station C.J.O.R. completed a hookup with the General Motors broadcasting system at the Arena Gardens in Toronto and began carrying Foster Hewitt's hockey broadcasts on January 5, 1933. The Vancouver Sun labelled this as "...the finest New Year's gift on the sports calendar".[27]

In an interview, a teacher, Bert Dunlop, recalled the first family with a radio in Providence Bay on Mantitoulin Island, "Everyone in town gathered at their house on Saturday evening to listen to Foster

Hewitt's broadcasts."[28] Foster Hewitt's own reflections expressed to sportswriter Henry Roxborough in 1937 give an even better picture of the popularity of his program:

> For the half-hour after I reach the gondola I am a silent observer, and not infrequently during this interval my imagination rides high and wide to the haunts of waiting hockey fans. It is reasonable for me to assume, from letters I have received, that in a lighthouse on the Bay of Fundy, a trawler on the North Atlantic fishing banks, a dormitory in a Maritime Ladies' college, a Hudson's Bay trading post far north of Churchill, a theatre in a French-Canadian community in Northern Alberta, a construction camp many miles from rail in Ontario, a barber shop in a small Saskatchewan village, or in a British Columbia home where mail comes only once a month, there are sports lovers anxiously awaiting zero hour.[29]

His broadcasts from Toronto were influential in the promotion of professional hockey after the mid-1920's, as names like Busher Jackson and Charlie Conacher of the Maple Leafs became household words throughout the land. For a few hours on Saturday evenings during the winter months Canadians seemed to forget their regional differences and focus their attention upon professional hockey.

Other sports besides hockey were also delivered to Canadians over the air. In British Columbia starting in 1933 Leo Nicholson announced box lacrosse games on the radio:

> When stacatto lacrosse reports crackle out over the air lanes this summer, direct from box-side through the vocal efforts and keen percepts of Leo Nicholson, it will be the third season of Shell sponsorship. As far as can be determined Leo Nicholson is the only sports announcer bringing the fastest game to a radio public....
>
> Tuesday night's opening game at Vancouver Arena will be the 151st lacrosse broadcast by Shell. On their radio popularity survey, B.C. lacrosse broadcasts rate 99%, which is not such a bad recommend when it is considered that Al Jolson's Shell Château only drew 60%....[30]

In 1935 Canadians attentively listened to Joe Louis defeat Max Schmeling,[31] and two years later they heard the fight in which Louis successfully defended his title against Welshman, Tommy Farr.[32] Similar sports broadcasts became more and more common during the late 1930's bringing sport, usually at the professional level, into Canadian homes.

Yet another communication system that underwent technological improvements was the press. The two agencies, Canadian Press and United Press International of Canada, began operation in Canada in 1917 and 1922, respectively, but under different names. Canadian Press was known as Canadian Press Limited until 1923 and United Press International began as British United Press, a subsidiary of the United Press, an American organization. These two agencies, through their wire services, made it possible for Canadians in all parts of the country to be equally well informed through fast and comprehensive news of their region, their nation, and the world.[33] Newspapers were able to provide immediate sports results to their readers from other parts of Canada, the U.S.A., and Britain.

In the early 1920's before the days of radio when an important sporting event occurred it was common for sports enthusiasts to congregate near the local newspaper office to receive regular reports that came in over the wire. Braithwaite wrote the following about the Jack Dempsey-Georges Carpentier fight in 1921:

> On the night of the fight, half of Prince Albert filled the street in front of the Herald office. From an upstairs window a strong-voice reporter, using a megaphone, relayed the blow-by-blow account to us as it came in over the wire. It was a festive occasion--men in straw hats, women in long dresses, kids in bare feet. The popcorn vendor, who usually sold wares at Central Avenue Park during band concerts had arrived with his cart and was doing a good business. Enthusiasm was so high that at least two fist-fights got going before the main bout, and there were three dog-fights.[34]

In Winnipeg in 1926 close to 5,000 fans jammed Carleton Street to watch the Free Press magnetic player board flash play by play reports of the opening world's series game between the St. Louis Cardinals and the New

York Yankees.[35]

By the 1920's newspapers across Canada contained a regular sports section in which were reported local, national, and international sports events. Action pictures as well as series on "how-to-play-the-game" were often featured to increase public interest. Roxborough wrote the following about the effect of the press upon the game of golf:

> Newspapers, alert to public sentiment, have so reflected this public desire that the records of Hagen, Jones, Ray, Duncan, Mitchell, Deigel, Smith or Sarazen are better known to thousands of Canadians than are the names of the members of the Federal Cabinet.
>
> Indeed, the newspapers have not only catered to the increased interest in golfology, but in no uncertain manner the sports editors have been the Pied Pipers who have led the tired business men out from the city streets to the great open lumberlands. Most Canadian daily or weekly papers furnish racy golf news and many of the better circulated papers have assigned special writers to this one sport. This contribution to golf development has been decidedly stimulating, but the Press has rendered even additional aid through the constant publication of free instruction.[36]

Similar effects of the press upon several other sports were evident.

In addition to the newspapers, popular magazines like Maclean's and National Home Monthy published sports articles written by a number of well-known sportswriters of the time such as Ted Reeves, J. Lewis Brown, Henry Roxborough, Fred Edwards, Elmer Ferguson, Lou Marsh, and Leslie Roberts. Their articles, which tended to be critical analyses of controversial sports issues, kept the public further informed about the latest developments in sport.

Both press and radio intensified the Canadians' interest in sports as fans were able to get immediate feedback on major events. These two communication systems not only served to inform Canadians about sport in other parts of their own country, but also brought British and American sports into the public eye. Most newspapers carried Old Country sports results acquired through the British United Press while both press and radio kept Canadians well-informed about the latest events in the U.S.A. Although amateur sport received the most attention in the early 1920's, by the latter half of this decade professional sport was receiving more than its fair share of the coverage.

During the inter-war period technological developments in facilities and equipment also played an important role in the expansion of sport. The widespread use of artificial ice provided a further impetus to the growth in the popularity of hockey and curling especially in those regions of the country where ice conditions were unpredictable:

> Until ten years ago (1923) the playing of hockey was largely dependent upon the mood of Old King Weather. When temperatures were low ice was naturally keen, but in late winter, when the most important finals were contested, the mercury sneaked up in the tube and matches of supreme importance were decided on a surface where slush was so pronounced that only shinny could be played. Indeed, on many occasions games were advertised and thousands of tickets sold, but until the referee blew his whistle the fans did not know whether or not they would see a hockey game.
>
> Then about a decade back (1923), refrigeration engineers produced artificial ice. At once hockey conditions changed. Players skated earlier, played longer and were assured of uniform ice throughout the season. Patrons no longer dressed like Eskimoes, for outdoor temperatures had little effect on comfortably heated arenas; players' salaries and club franchises trebled in value; ice plants blossomed all over the country. Enthusiasm for hockey has become so abundant that, in Toronto, for instance, on two successive March Saturday's nearly 25,000 fans paid admissions to afternoon and evening hockey games. Even in these times.[37]

Artificial ice, for the reasons outlined above, proved to be a real boom to professional hockey which met with an overwhelming success in the latter half of the 1920's and throughout the 1930's. In fact, the first artificial rinks in Canada were built by the Patrick brothers in Vancouver and Victoria in 1911 to house professional hockey on the Pacific Coast, an area of Canada where there was little or no natural ice. By 1928 every professional hockey club had artificial ice.[38]

Even upon the Canadian Prairie where "...the best players in the world were bred and trained on the ponds and the corner rinks..."[39] artificial ice was found to be advantageous. Artificial ice was installed in Winnipeg's Amphitheatre in 1922 making it the only artificial ice plant between Toronto and Vancouver at that time.[40] It meant that hockey in Winnipeg could get underway early in November while in previous years the game could not get started until into December. As well, good ice was assured until April and later if necessary. The Free Press reported that the installation of the artificial ice plant "...meant a wonderful revival in interest in hockey in Winnipeg".[41]

It was in Upper Canada, which experienced mild winters with frequent thaws, that artificial ice was especially functional. In Toronto in 1925-26 the opening of three new artificial ice plants--High Park and Granite Clubs for skating and curling and the University of Toronto Arena for skating and hockey--brought the total up to seven,[42] probably the greatest number of artificial ice plants in any city in North America at that time.[43] The Granite Curling Club built "...a magnificent new clubhouse on St. Clair Ave. near Young St., marking the opening of a new era in the winter game of Auld Scotia in Eastern Canada".[44]

On November 13, 1931, "...before the largest crowd that ever attended a hockey game in Toronto, 13,542, the National Hockey League season was ushered in at the magnificient new home of the Maple Leafs at Carlton and Church Streets".[45] At the Gardens, the benefit of artificial ice was readily evident, for it was possible to remove the ice in a matter of a few hours so that "pro" boxing and wrestling shows could be held throughout the winter without interfering with hockey games either the night before or after.[46] Consequently, artificial ice proved to be beneficial to professional sports other than hockey.

On the Atlantic Coast, too, the utility of artificial ice could be observed. The sudden unexpected thaws introduced by the moderating influence of the Atlantic made ice conditions in Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island unpredictable and sometimes forced the cancellation of hockey and curling. The Maritime Provinces, where technological progress was somewhat retarded by the depressed economic conditions, were slow to follow the example of other parts of Canada, but finally in 1929 the Halifax Curling Club was operating the first artificial curling rink in the Atlantic Provinces.[47] The Yarmouth Curling Club followed suit by opening a new artificial ice-making plant in 1932:[48]

> The Linde Refrigerator Company of Montreal has completed the installation of the artificial ice plant for the Yarmouth Curling Club, and last evening, for the first time this winter, despite the soft weather and heavy fog of the day, several members of the club enjoyed their first games of the season.[49]

Throughout the remainder of the 1930's the number of curling clubs with artificial ice in the Maritimes mushroomed, increasing the number of participants in an already popular sport.[50]

Artificial ice was not the only important technological improvement made in playing facilities. Yet another innovation that gained widespread acceptance by the end of the 1930's was the use of floodlighting for night games in baseball, softball, lacrosse, Canadian football, rugger, and soccer. About this advancement in sport technology Henry Roxborough commented:

> Electrical engineers, too, may alter our sport maps. In Canada and the United States baseball games played on week-day afternoons have suffered in attendance because workers cannot afford to lose the time and money involved in going to the stadiums. Electric

lighting experts hope, therefore, to make night as bright as day. Then the worker with his family can attend a night game as they would the theatre. Already the engineers are producing results, and many clubs in the States have been restored to prosperous conditions. In Toronto, London, and Vancouver such games as girls' softball, lacrosse, and rugby have been successful in their night-time ventures thanks to electrical science.51

The first Canadian football game played under electric lights was at Athletic Park in Vancouver on September 29, 1930 when the touring Hamilton Tigers defeated the University of British Columbia by a score of thirty-eight to one.[52] Later that same season at Ulster Stadium in Toronto, Balmy Beach and the Oshawa Blue Devils played another game of football under the floodlights.[53] After these games, a sportswriter for the Free Press expressed his optimism for this technological advancement:

> The spectacle of Canada's big soccer football and rugby football teams in action at night under the blaze of floodlights, playing before capacity crowds including hundreds who are unable to attend the daylight games, may soon be a common occurence.... In fact, so great are the possibilities of night play that several teams working out in larger stadiums have consulted engineers regarding installation of floodlights.[54]

In 1939 J. Lewis Brown reported that except for a couple of exhibition games played in Toronto by Balmy Beach and Queen's at Ulster Stadium, floodlight football was almost unknown in the East. It was a different story in the West.[55] The installation of floodlights in Calgary and Edmonton prior to the start of the 1939 season made night games possible in all four cities of the prairie circuit,[56] thereby enabling them to play a twenty-four game schedule. As a result, great increases in attendance were anticipated for the 1939 season,[57] but World War II broke out before the effects could be clearly seen.

The game of soccer prospered from the introduction of lights into stadiums. For example, night soccer was introduced in Winnipeg for the first time during the 1932 season:

> All games in the Greater Winnipeg League, several games in the Winnipeg and District League and a number of Dominion Football Association and Manitoba Football Association games are being played under floodlights at both the new Osbourne stadium and the Wesley college grounds. There is no doubt that the venture proved satisfactory in many aspects. The players benefited during the hot summer months in not having to turn out to play until the cool of the late evening; the football public also benefited in being able to go home from their work, enjoy their evening meal and get down to the game by starting time.[58]

From a financial point of view these night games were also successful. In 1931 the Greater Winnipeg League had gate receipts of $1,837.20 for twenty-one games, and in 1932 after only sixteen games the intake was $2,694.50.[59]

Softball was yet another sport whose popularity was enhanced by floodlights. The Vancouver Province reported a packed house for the first night softball games in Vancouver:

> Night softball made a brilliant and colorful bow last night under giant floodlights, when more than 3,000 enthusiasts in some miraculous fashion jammed their way into the newly-built Smith Park at Broadway and Fir Street for the senior league opening. The fans packed the baseline, and the fences. The stands, which seat 1,300 souls proved totally inadequate.[60]

Night sport became a phenomenon of the 1930's in Canada. As in the U.S.A. from where the idea first came, floodlight games primarily benefited top level sport in Canada, in that the paying public was able to support its favourite team throughout the week as well as on weekends.

The trend towards indoor winter sport, previously noted, was made possible to a great extent by technological progress in the construction of indoor facilities. Tennis, badminton, cycling, lacrosse, track and field, swimming, and basketball were but a few of the activities that could be conducted inside newly built gymnasia, clubhouses, and arenas. Even in

Vancouver where a mild winter was conducive to outdoor sport the "indoor trend" was observed:

> Indoor playgrounds took the calendar out of the sports whirl. Summer, winter, spring, and fall, the old arbiters of our sport passed from the picture when we all got together and began building these living monuments to our worship of health and exercise.
>
> So today in Vancouver, where there is no natural ice, this city is one of the great hockey centres of the West; where swimming records are smashed in midwinter; tennis players play all the year around, rain or shine; and probably more people per capita play badminton than in any other city on this continent.
>
> And it's all because we brought our playgrounds indoors, and because we keep building more and more until few cities on the continent are served by such well-equipped gymnasia as is Vancouver.[61]

While better facilities were being constructed similar progress was being made in producing safer sports equipment. Improvements in football padding and the safety harness[62] decreased the risk of injury in football and skiing. In the "sport of kings" the new Bahr starting gate first utilized at Woodbine in Toronto in 1931 made the start of a horse race much less hazardous. The fourteen padded stalls attached to an overhead superstructure could be raised and lowered at will, and the entire apparatus could be removed from the course very quickly.[63]

Other inventions made sports more pleasurable for participants. Golfers gained more satisfaction out of smacking a livelier golf ball "into infinite space",[64] while some skiers enjoyed being pulled up the slopes by a tow. Interest in hill skiing was greatly enhanced by the unspectacular appearance in 1929 of a ski tow, the first of its kind in North America, operated by Alex Foster at Shawbridge, Quebec.[65] Though pioneering groups in most ski clubs continued to extol the virtues of natural trails, the overwhelming voice of new ski converts advocated a preference for the ski tow and groomed hills.[66]

Yet other technological innovations were directed towards the spectator. For example, in 1927 a Port Arthur man perfected an electric timing device which operated on the principle of a stop watch. This clock, operated by the official timekeeper was placed so that spectators and players alike could "...watch every minute of the game ticked off...":

> The need of something of this kind has been apparent for sometime. Timing disputes have occurred at many games during the past season. In Toronto there were 3 or 4 games this winter where the timers failed to agree, and the game had to be halted until the referee settled the dispute. During the Oshawa-Jordan sudden-death game here the trouble in the timers' box threatened to have an important bearing on the result of the contest. Some Oshawa supporters still maintain that they got the worst of the decision on that occasion, due to the disagreement between the timers. A central timing device such as the Port Arthur man claims to have invented might prevent disputes of this nature in the future.[67]

It was not long before such a clock became a regular piece of equipment in almost every indoor rink across Canada.

From this brief discussion of technology and sport it can be seen that advancements in transportation and communication systems as well as the construction of better equipment and facilities played a noteworthy role in the development of sport in Canada between the two world wars. Better facilities encouraged the trend towards indoor winter sports while the radio and press focused Canadians' attention upon sports events, not only in other parts of the country, but also in Britain and the U.S.A. Although all sports along the amateur-professional spectrum benefited from these technological advancements, professional and pseudo-amateur sport seemed to prosper most.

Urbanization

> Characteristic features of town or city life may be termed "urban" and are the result of "urbanization" or an "urban process". A number of conditions are necessary for urbanization to occur. Firstly,

> population concentration, which is a dimension with two aspects: that of an increase in the proportion of population dwelling in urban areas, and an increase in the number of urban centres.... A second condition, the economic or technological dimension, involves the extension of those activities which demand or encourage the concentration of manufacturing establishments and workers into a confined area.... The sociocultural dimension, a third condition of urbanization, involves a diffusion of "those cultural values, customs, behaviour patterns and styles of living that seemed to be nurtured mainly in cities." In summary, urbanization represents the process by which urban areas emerge and develop out of the interaction of economic, technological, and sociocultural influences.[68]

Table IV (p.190) reveals that from 1921 to 1941 there was a 4.8 per cent increase in the total urban population in Canada with "urban" defined as the population residing in cities, towns, and incorporated villages.[69] Most of this increase came between 1921 and 1931 when there was rapid industrial expansion in Canada, but with the onset of the depression the urban-rural distribution levelled off. Another noteworthy point is that in 1931 and even in 1941 only three provinces--Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia--had an urban population which exceeded the rural. This trend towards urbanization was an influential factor in the development of sport in Canada, especially in the three provinces mentioned above.

One of the most significant changes in the pattern of sport between the two world wars, the increase in professional sport as "big business" often to the detriment of amateur sport, was part of the "urban process" taking place. In an article entitled "Cash or Character" published in Maclean's in 1928 Henry Roxborough clearly indicated that there was a swing towards professional sport and that a "big business" approach was being utilized:

TABLE IV

RURAL AND URBAN POPULATIONS, BY PROVINCES AND TERRITORIES, CENSUS YEARS 1911-41[70]

Province or Territory	1911		1921	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
P.E. Island	78,758	14,970	69,522	19,093
Nova Scotia	306,210	186,128	296,799	227,038
New Brunswick	252,342	99,547	263,432	124,444
Quebec	1,038,934	966,842	1,037,941	1,322,569
Ontario	1,198,803	1,328,489	1,227,030	1,706,632
Manitoba	261,029	200,365	348,502	261,616
Saskatchewan	361,037	131,395	538,552	218,958
Alberta	236,633	137,662	365,550	222,904
British Columbia	188,796	203,684	277,020	247,562
Yukon	4,647	3,865	2,851	1,306
N.W.T.	6,507	Nil	8,143	Nil
Canada	3,933,696	3,272,947	4,435,827	4,352,122
Total Percentage	54.6%	45.4%	50.5%	49.5%

Province or Territory	1931		1941	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
P.E. Island	67,653	20,385	70,707	24,340
Nova Scotia	281,192	231,654	310,422	267,540
New Brunswick	279,279	128,940	313,978	143,423
Quebec	1,061,056	1,813,606	1,222,198	2,109,684
Ontario	1,335,691	2,095,992	1,449,022	2,338,633
Manitoba	384,170	315,969	407,871	321,873
Saskatchewan	630,880	290,905	600,846	295,146
Alberta	453,097	278,508	489,583	306,586
British Columbia	299,524	394,739	374,467	443,394
Yukon	2,870	1,360	3,117	1,797
N.W.T.	9,316	Nil	12,028	Nil
Canada	4,804,728	5,572,058	5,254,239	6,252,416
Total Percentage	46.3%	53.7%	45.7%	54.3%

> Today, many more Canadians are deriving a livelihood from professional sport than ever before in our national history; a medium once intended to develop physique and create social diversion has become a big business paying real salaries; organized play, once supposedly a means of recreation, is now a financial dividend-paying investment.[71]

Roxborough pointed out that during the winter of 1926-27, the National Hockey League, the major professional circuit, attracted about one and one-quarter million fans. The Osler baseball team of Toronto, during its first professional baseball venture, had played before 50,000 spectators in its home games alone. When the professional Scottish soccer stars toured Canada in 1927 they were admired by 83,000 football fans, and one professional boxing show had gathered "...15,000 admirers of the knights of the padded mitts".

Not only had land games prospered professionally but water pastimes had also been "...bitten by the money bug":

> Swimming, possibly our cleanest sport, was formerly as amateur in principle and practice as dominoes, croquet, ping-pong or marbles. But the Canadian National Exhibition Marathon, with a bait of fifty thousand dollars, so aroused the latent financial instincts of many lads and lasses that scores of former amateur, marine athletes are now out of the swim wherever simon-pure currents flow. And with so many swimmers not eligible for amateur competition it is reasonable to assume that many pro races will be arranged for their benefit during the summer of this year.[72]

Roxborough stated that the fact that professional sport was considered "big business" was one of its greatest assets, for it thereby secured the directing power of well-informed, respected and experienced executives. These business leaders recognized that profits depended upon customers and that to secure sporting clients it was necessary "...to shout your merits from the headlines".[73] This, promoters of professional sport did very effectively.

In addition to the vast increase of publicly declared professional athletes there was also a rapid rise in the number of pseudo-amateurs or "shamateurs" as the sportswriters referred to them. Although Canadian football was lauded as an amateur sport it was obvious to all that many of the American imports and top Canadian players were not merely playing for the "love of the game". In 1937 Lewis Brown, sports journalist for the National Home Monthly, stated that football in Canada was fast approaching the point where it would have to come out in the open and declare itself professional.[74] He continued on to cite several examples of "shamateurism"--two players, allegedly studying French at an Ottawa institution, but who failed to attend lectures; a professional baseball player who played football under an assumed name; or a group of players who refused to obey training rules at Montreal and returned to the States "...gurgling about non-payment of salaries".[75] Numerous other examples were given by sportswriters concerning athletes who played for industrial teams but only showed up at work to pick up their pay cheques,[76] or junior teams that secretly received financial support from professional hockey teams.[77] In one embarrassing incident a Quebec Senior Hockey League team, the Valleyfield Braves, went on strike during the 1939 Allan Cup play-offs because they wanted a guarantee that the weekly salaries they had been receiving throughout the regular season would be continued as long as the team remained in the play-offs.[78] The list of examples of "shamateurism" in sport could go on and on. Lou Marsh appropriately summed up the situation in saying that "...real amateurs among the star hockey, rugby, lacrosse, and baseball players are as scarce in Canada as skate sharpeners are in Central Africa".[79]

This movement towards professional sport did not go unanswered. At the fortieth annual meeting of the A.A.U. of C. in Edmonton in 1928, the Union's new president, Dr. A. S. Lamb, warned the amateur body with these words:

> The insidious tendencies of the present day toward commercialism and professionalism of most forms of sport are tendencies which must be combatted by all forces at our disposal and we must be constantly on the alert lest our viewpoints are caught up and swept away by the onrush of what to many are the all important, but which in reality are merely the external and superficial.
>
> In the past few years, we have witnessed a relaxation of several important principles and I have grave fears as to the outcome, should this tendency continue.[80]

Indeed, the A.A.U. did try to use all the tools at its disposal to combat professional sport--it imposed stringent residency and eligibility rules and strictly enforced the amateur code. However, as can be seen from the following incidents, the A.A.U.'s power was dwindling in the latter half of the 1930's. In 1935, because professionalism existed in eastern Canadian football, the Ottawa Branch of the A.A.U.of C. suspended every man who played in the Interprovincial Football Union or who played exhibition games against a Big Four team that season. The C.R.U. ignored the ultimatum and proceeded with the playdowns as scheduled.[81] Then, in 1937, the C.A.H.A. cancelled its articles of alliance with the A.A.U. because it had adopted a policy of "broken-time" payments.[82]

By the end of the 1930's professional and "shamateur" sport were rampant in Canada. Ralph Allen commented that a cynic could tell this story in three sentences:

> 1930--"What is an amateur?"
> 1935--"Why is an Amateur?"
> 1940--"Where is an Amateur?"[83]

In no other sport was the relationship between the growth of

TABLE V

URBAN CENTRES HAVING POPULATIONS OF OVER 30,000 IN 1941 COMPARED WITH CENSUS YEARS 1911-1931[84]

Urban Centre and Province	Population			
	1911	1921	1931	1941
	No.	No.	No.	No.
Montreal, Que.	490,504	618,506	818,577	903,007
Toronto, Ont.	381,833	521,893	631,207	667,457
Vancouver, B.C.	120,847	163,220	246,593	275,353
Winnipeg, Man.	136,035	179,087	218,785	221,960
Hamilton, Ont.	81,969	114,151	155,547	166,337
Ottawa, Ont.	87,062	107,843	126,872	154,951
Quebec, Que.	78,118	95,193	130,594	150,757
Windsor, Ont.	23,433	55,935	98,179	105,311
Edmonton, Alta.	31,064	58,821	79,197	93,817
Calgary, Alta.	43,704	63,305	83,781	88,904
London, Ont.	46,300	60,959	71,148	78,264
Halifax, N.S.	46,619	58,372	59,275	70,488
Verdun, Que.	11,629	25,001	60,745	67,349
Regina, Sask.	30,213	34,432	53,209	58,245
Saint John, N.B.	42,511	47,166	47,514	51,741
Victoria, B.C.	31,660	38,727	39,082	44,068
Saskatoon, Sask.	12,004	25,739	43,291	43,027
Three Rivers, Que.	13,691	22,367	35,450	42,007
Sherbrooke, Que.	16,405	23,515	28,933	35,965
Kitchener, Ont.	15,196	21,763	30,793	35,657
Hull, Que.	18,222	24,117	29,433	32,947
Sudbury, Ont.	4,150	8,621	18,518	32,203
Brantford, Que.	23,132	29,440	30,107	31,948
Outremont, Que.	4,820	13,249	28,641	30,751
Fort William, Ont.	16,499	20,541	26,277	30,585
St. Catharines, Ont.	12,484	19,881	24,753	30,275
Kingston, Ont.	18,874	21,753	23,439	30,126

professional sport at the "big business" level and urbanization more clearly seen than in Canada's national winter sport, hockey. Professional hockey was initiated on two fronts in Canada--on the Pacific Coast and in Central Canada (Ontario and Quebec)--areas in which were located Canada's three largest cities (see Table V, p.194). On the West Coast, as has already been discussed, Frank and Lester Patrick started the Pacific Coast Hockey League in 1912 with three Canadian entries, Vancouver, Victoria, and New Westminster. Of the three Canadian cities Vancouver proved to be the only one with a population large enough to consistently support a professional hockey team. New Westminster, a city of about 14,000 was forced to drop out in 1914[85] while Victoria, with a population of 38,727 (see Table V, p. 194) in 1921 managed to continue until the Pacific Coast Hockey League was abandoned in 1924.[86] If it were not for the fact that the Patricks owned the entire league and operated it as a syndicate with all teams sharing the revenues, professional hockey would have met a quicker end on the Pacific Coast. Vancouver, with 246,593 people in 1921 (see Table V, p. 194) drew large crowds in the range of 8,000 to 10,000 fans for league games whereas Victoria's crowds seldom exceeded around 2,000 to 3,000 spectators.[87]

When the Seattle team was left without an arena in 1924 Vancouver and Victoria joined in with the newly formed Western Hockey League. The Patricks, both clever business men, saw the impending doom facing this organization, for the cities were too small to support teams that hoped to compete with the N.H.L. for talent. At the end of the 1924 season when the Regina Capitals had financial troubles the Patrick brothers bought the club and placed it in Portland, Oregon.[88] By the conclusion of the 1926 season the end of professional hockey in the West was imminent:

> There is serious disputing throughout the league that 1926 will witness the passing of prairie cities from pro Hockey and that their franchises will migrate south of the 49th parallel, even as many of our ambitious young Canadians are doing. Certainly it has been proved that, even in the semi-Arctic regions of Alberta and Saskatchewan, Jupiter Pluvius does too much monkey business with the weather gauges. Moreover the rinks in these districts, in Calgary and Saskatoon, are but reclaimed barns, not large enough for hockey really, and incapable of handling sufficient customers to ensure no sniffing at the crevices by the wolves of poverty. There is a growing suspicion in the best minds of hockey hereabouts that Saskatoon and Calgary folk should return their rinks to original uses. There is always plenty of wheat about in the fall, they say, why not fill 'em up again with "No. 1 hard" and leave the hockey bugs to crowd southward, where the investors are numberless, even as the sands of the seas?[89]

Finally, after the 1926 season, Frank Patrick sold fifty players from the Victoria, Vancouver, Edmonton, Portland, and Calgary teams to the N.H.L. for a total of $300,000.[90]

Professional hockey had become "big business" in the East with players demanding salaries that only Vancouver in the West could afford to pay. Vancouver possessed a beautiful facility, a large spacious arena holding 10,000 people,[91] whereas the other western cities--Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, and Regina offered "reclaimed barns" with inadequate seating. They were too small to pay the price for first-class hockey.

Although professional hockey was revived in 1928 on the Pacific Coast with the formation of the Pacific Coast League comprised of the Vancouver Lions, the Victoria Cubs, the Seattle Eskimoes, and the Portland Buckaroos[92] it never did again achieve its former high standard equal to the N.H.L.:

> Vancouver's isolation from other cities of large population has proved her hockey undoing. Seattle held up in the old days when the late Pete Muldoon handled the reins. It flopped miserably under the exacting and suspicious Mr. Caldwell.
>
> Vancouver is strictly N.H.L. calibre. But geographically her

> position is one of trackless isolation and her winters forever dispossess her from a position like Winnipeg, one of the greatest hockey breeding grounds in the world.93

On the other hand, in the East where Canada's two largest cities, Montreal and Toronto, were located and several large American cities lay nearby, professional hockey flourished after the mid-1920's. In the autumn of 1917, four clubs, the Montreal Wanderers, the Montreal Canadiens, the Ottawa Senators, and the Toronto Maple Leafs organized the National Hockey League (N.H.L.) with Frank Calder as president. This league encountered several problems during its formative years, the first being the withdrawal of the Wanderers after one season. Hamilton joined the N.H.L. in 1920, and throughout the seasons of '22, '23, and '24 the four-club circuit held tenaciously together.[94] "From 1919 to about 1925 the amateur game had its heyday...",[95] and it was here that professional hockey encountered its strongest opposition, especially in Ontario where "...the simon pures were greeted by hilarious thousands while the paid brigades performed to much more meagre gatherings".[96] The turning point came in 1924:

> With the finish of 1924's hockey year there began to be attracted to Mr. Calder's modestly successful organization a certain amount of new interest. The old Montreal Arena company was reorganized, and the new Forum was built. Down around Boston thousands of expatriated Canadians were paying money to look at amateur and exhibition games. The spectacle of thousands of people paying to look at anything is always an interesting one to professional promoters.
> The Montreal Maroons were given a franchise, with the new Forum, perhaps the finest of all the hockey plants, not excluding Madison Square Garden, which was built for many things beside hockey, as their home. Boston came on in a running jump, and Frank Calder's tottering two-club league of five years previous was suddenly a six-club circuit flourishing and proud of itself with, moreover, the added spice of international competition giving it a piquant flavor.97

The professional boom had begun with the influx of big money accompanying the new Boston, Chicago, New York, and Montreal entries.

The best in the game flocked to the National League and, in the competition to sign up the outstanding amateurs, salaries leaped in surprising fashion. The great Howie Morenz, for instance, who signed a three-year contract one season before the rush, had to put in two winters during which he was the most brilliant youngster in the game, while drawing down about one third of the pay that other players were getting.[98] In 1928, Fred Edwards reported that the average wage in the N.H.L. was $5,000 per year,[99] considerably higher than the all-time high of $3,000 per year paid to Frank and Lester Patrick by the Renfrew Millionaires in 1910.[100]

By the 1927 hockey season ten clubs were operating in the N.H.L.: two in New York, two in Montreal, and one each in Ottawa, Toronto, Detroit, Boston, Pittsburg, and Chicago.[101] Rising attendance figures attested to the growth of professional hockey, and the N.H.L. reported a total increase of 22 per cent in the 1928-29 season over the previous year.[102]

Meanwhile the minor leagues formed in the wake of the N.H.L. with many of the teams being farms for the majors:[103]

> Not only did the rise of the pro game affect the N.H.L., but it resulted in the formation of three new professional circuits. The Central U.S. league, of which Winnipeg was a member, reorganized as the American Professional Hockey League, with the result that Winnipeg is now represented in a professional circuit for the first time in 20 years. Other professional leagues organized are the Canadian and Canadian-American, both in the East.[104]

Prior to the formation of these minor leagues, "shamateur" hockey players were reluctant to sign with a professional organization because they knew that if they failed to make the team they would still be branded as professionals and hence be unable to return to the amateur ranks where they were already getting paid "under the table". The creation of the minor league teams in smaller cities provided these players with a satisfactory alternative.

Near the end of the 1920's the following professional hockey scene had evolved in Canada. Montreal, Toronto, and Ottawa had teams in the N.H.L. Windsor, Niagara Falls, Hamilton, London, Stratford, Kitchener, Toronto, Quebec, Winnipeg, Edmonton, Calgary, Saskatoon, Moose Jaw, and Regina all had teams in the minor leagues which had a working agreement with the N.H.L. that they would get players "...not yet seasoned enough for the big show".[105] Out of the twenty largest cities in Canada in 1927 thirteen had professional hockey teams connected with the N.H.L. while Vancouver and Victoria were operating in a professional league separate from the N.H.L. Thus fifteen out of the twenty largest cities in Canada supported professional hockey teams in 1927.

It was not long before several of these centres discovered that they were not large enough to support professional hockey as a "big business". Top-heavy pay rolls, travelling expenses, and the cost of facilities accompanied by the devastating effects of the depression caused many minor clubs to fold. In 1933 the Regina Capitals were moved to Vancouver because of the poor support received in the Saskatchewan capital.[106] By 1938 only Vancouver remained in the minor professional hockey scene in the West for Winnipeg had dropped out of the American Hockey Association and the Prairie League disbanded shortly after the loss of the Regina Capitals. In the East the cities unable to handle minor professional hockey were: Moncton, Sydney, Halifax, Quebec, Galt, Waterloo, Kitchener, Brantford, London, and Windsor.[107]

In the N.H.L., also, some teams found it difficult to keep up with the rapidly increasing costs required to put on a good show. As early as 1927 Ottawa, the smallest city in the N.H.L., was finding it difficult to cope with the mushrooming expenses in operating a professional hockey team:

> The inevitable all-U.S. League is an ever-present and seemingly inescapable menace. Big centres of population, bank rolls commensurate with the size of the cities, and the remarkable growth of the game across the border make matters increasingly difficult for the smaller towns.[108]

In 1931 after suffering a $50,000 loss the previous season, the Ottawa Senators along with the Philadelphia Quakers had their franchises suspended for one year and their players were distributed among the remaining eight teams of the league.[109] Finally after the 1934 season Ottawa, "...the home of the Silver Seven, birthplace of scores of stars, winner of more Stanley Cup titles than any other..." was forced to pass from the professional hockey scene "...in a wave of red ink...".[110] The Montreal Maroons also "...submerged in red ink..." fell by the wayside after the 1937-38 season.[111]

In attempting to account for the demise of professional hockey in Canada after such an auspicious beginning Fred Edwards postulated the following:

> And why this happened, in a land where hockey is almost a religion, where rivalry blazes to white-hot pitches of hate and frenzied bitterness in many sectors; in a land which holds the glittering ice game as its national sport, is your guess, my guess, anybody's guess. It isn't a reflection on professional hockey the finest and most polished exposition of the world's fastest game, and the one type of professional sport on which the shadow of suspicion never has cast its blighting shade. It isn't that hockey in general is losing its appeal or its popularity. Professional hockey is now exclusively a big-city game.[112]

The following figures serve to fortify Edwards' statement. The cost of a first-class arena was high; for example, the Maple Leaf Gardens built in Toronto in 1931 using cheap labour cost $1,500,000. On top of the cost of renting or building a facility in which to play, each club in 1930 paid salaries totalling about $100,000 with some stars getting close to $12,000.[113] Travel expenses increased expenditures still further. In spite of spiralling costs and the effects of the depression the teams in the large urban centres profited. In the 1930-31 campaign the Boston Bruins' net profits were $127,000 which fell considerably short of the $205,813 gained the previous season.[114] Total profits in the N.H.L. in the 1934-35 season were $1,702,285.20 with the New York Rangers leading the way with $290,477 and the Toronto Maple Leafs following with $253,292.[115] Obviously the N.H.L. was operating as a "big business" in which only large cities could afford to function. Montreal and Toronto with populations in 1931 of 818,577 and 631,207 (see Table V, p. 194) respectively, were the only two Canadian cities large enough to support major league hockey in Canada.

Major professional hockey which had received some of its initial impetus from the growth of urban centres in Canada after World War I had outgrown all but the two largest cities in the country by the end of the 1930's. Lewis Brown was certainly justified in his concern that the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Montreal Canadiens would find:

> ...the financial returns too meagre to cope with the millions behind the United States financed squads and that larger and wealthier cities, such as support major league baseball franchises, would provide more fruitful fields for investment in hockey ivory.[116]

Hockey was but one professional sport that Roxborough mentioned in which there was a vast increase in the number of Canadians deriving their livelihood during the 1920's. The professional or pseudo-amateur version of baseball, wrestling, boxing, football, lacrosse, swimming, and cycling grew in popularity during the 1920's and 1930's, especially in those areas of Canada where there were large urban populations. The increase in the number and size of urban centres was naturally conducive to the development of professional sport, for large crowds were essential for its success. The news media necessary to promote professional sport were centred in cities and as well, cities, especially the larger ones housed good facilities outfitted with the latest technological improvements such as artificial ice and floodlighting. Hence, during the 1920's and 1930's professional or "shamateur" sport became characteristic of most urban centres in Canada.

With the expansion of urban areas there arose a need for organized sport for the average citizen. It was here that the industries that had developed in Canadian cities during and after World War I stepped in to provide leadership. The result was the growth of commercial sport which like professional and "shamateur" sport, became characteristic of "urbanization" or the "urban process" in Canada during the inter-war period.

The concept of commercial sport came to Canada initially from the neighbour to the south where industries had been sponsoring their employees' sport prior to World War I. Commercialization was not a sudden development in Canada but rather a gradual growth. During and immediately following World War I, industry recognized the desirability of providing recreation for the worker. The business leaders believed that the organization of cricket, soccer, baseball, and hockey clubs and the provision and maintenance of playing fields would encourage loyalty to the firm and improve the employee's physique.[117]

In 1930 M. J. Rodden wrote the following in The Globe and Mail about the growth of commercial sport:

> Sport continues to play a large part in supplying recreational exercise to the many employees of large firms and organizations throughout Canada. Too many people have been of the opinion that commercial sport and "commercialized sport" were one and the same thing, but such is far from a fact. Many firms have found that in assisting their employees to finance a sports program, such a move has not only been beneficial to the employees, but also to the firm concerned. Two commercial organizations which have been foremost in the matter of having a sports program for their employees are the Bell Telephone System and the Canadian National Railways. In practically every large city and at every divisional point athletics of all kinds are fostered by the C.N.R. Athletic Association; and in every city where there is a large enrollment of employees, the Bell Telephone Co., through its various plants councils and sponsors recreational activity for the benefit of the employees.[118]

Across the country, everywhere where industries were based, commercial teams and leagues appeared. These were typified by the Commercial Hockey League in Halifax,[119] the Steel Plant League in Cape Breton,[120] La Ligue du Telephone et Chemin de Fer in Montreal,[121] the Commercial Softball League in Winnipeg,[122] and the Commercial Hockey League in Vancouver.[123] Commercial leagues were to be found in a wide variety of activities, but some of the more commonly sponsored sports were hockey, baseball, softball, bowling, soccer, and basketball. Participation was particularly high in sports such as softball, hockey, and bowling. The Commercial Softball League in Winnipeg, the largest commercial softball circuit in Canada in 1928, featured twenty-two teams divided into three divisions[124] while the Toronto Hockey League in 1930 had a commercial series with forty-six teams.[125] Commercial bowling leagues were largely responsible for the growth in popularity of this indoor winter sport:

> Being all-inclusive, the backbone of the sport are the teams and leagues from offices, factories and mills which have bowled for two or three evenings a week for years. Anybody from the boss to the office boy is eligible, and for that single reason practically every leading concern has fostered bowling as the ideal breeder of improved industrial relations. The great majority merely stimulate the formation of teams and utilize public alleys on certain evenings.[126]

The calibre of competition varied considerably. Some leagues like the "Big Four" hockey league in Winnipeg comprised of C.P.R., C.N.R., Eaton's, and Hudson's Bay drew up to 5,000 fans at the Amphitheatre [127] while other more obscure leagues attracted only a handful of friends and relatives to their games.

In conjunction with this trend towards industrial sponsorship of sport the newspaper industry also started to become involved at the organizational level. The Winnipeg Free Press Golf Tournament was one such sporting event arranged by a major city newspaper. This tournament which began upon an experimental basis in 1926 was so successful that it became an annual event. It was open to all clubs of towns and small cities within the territory between the head of the lakes, and a line drawn through Regina, Saskatoon, and Prince Albert in Saskatchewan, taking in all Manitoba, Western Ontario and the Eastern Saskatchewan territory.[128]

In the Maritimes the Halifax Herald and the Evening Mail contributed trophies for a long list of sports events and played an active role in organizing several other sporting fixtures such as the Maritime Junior Track and Field Championships,[129] the Herald and Mail Five-Mile Marathon Swim,[130] the Halifax Herald Ten-Mile[131] and Twenty-Seven-Mile Marathons,[132] the Halifax Herald Forty-Five-Mile Bicycle Race from Windsor to Halifax,[133] and the Herald and Evening Mail Twenty-Five

Mile Walking Race from Dartmouth to Halifax.[134] As can be seen from the following report on the women's five-mile walking race held in 1926 these special events organized by the Halifax newspaper generated a great deal of interest and enthusiasm:

> The Guy sisters, Cedella and Vivian, members of the walking team from Robert Simpson's Eastern Limited, captured premier honors in the Herald and Mail walking race for girls held on Saturday, by finishing first and second, leading all other contestants by a safe margin. Cedella Guy, carrying the number 12, swung into an early lead and with a strong stride shoved the way to the tape. Her sister Vivian determined to capture further honors for the family, walked a close second over the five mile course. The unusual sight of 275 girls starting on a walking race attracted 40,000 spectators who lined the course at every point. So great was the crowd at cross sections of the road that efforts had to be made to keep a proper path clear for the walkers.[135]

In spite of the apparent success of industrial sport there were problems encountered concerning the amateur status of athletes in these commercial leagues. The main point of contention was that athletes playing for industrial teams were still being paid their normal salaries when they practiced or played during regular work hours. This, as far as the A.A.U. of C. was concerned constituted "broken-time payment" which it strongly opposed. In March of 1928 the A.A.U. became so concerned over the entire question of industrially sponsored teams and athletes that a special committee, the "Industrial Affiliation and Relations Committee," was appointed to investigate the problem.[136]

On December sixth to eighth of that same year at the forty-first annual meeting of the A.A.U. of C. in Port Arthur the following motion was put to the floor:

> The progress made in recent years by industrial and commercial organizations throughout the Dominion of Canada and the development of wholesome athletics, invites some consideration by this Union at this time and we recommend that this Union admit to membership such

> industrial and commercial organizations as conform to the existing regulations of the A.A.U. of C.[137]

The motion was defeated, indicating the A.A.U.'s opposition to commercial sport at that time.

In an article entitled "Is Worship of Mammon Killing Amateur Sport" published in Maclean's Magazine in 1928, Roxborough wrote about some of the pitfalls of commercial sport. He emphasized that the purpose of commercial sport was commendable and that, in some instances, the objective was attained, but in many industries the desire for publicity, and the urge to win, supplanted the original motives. Success in sport meant valuable publicity on sporting pages. Roxborough pointed out that it paid to win, and that the stars of the diamond and the arena were offered positions at good salaries. Practices were arranged during work hours, and the best equipment was purchased. According to Roxborough, this condition was not only detrimental to the amateur spirit of the players immediately concerned, but it also necessitated that non-industrial teams were compelled to provide equal opportunities for their players.[138] Roxborough's analysis substantiated Lou Marsh's earlier claim in 1925 that he knew of one firm in Toronto which considered both its girls' basketball team and its high-class men's hockey club valuable advertising assets. "Indeed," Marsh wrote, "advertising men have told me that this same firm cut $10,000 from its advertising appropriation on the ground that a sum spent promoting all-star teams bearing the firm's name would get them twice as much value from an advertising point of view."[139] In 1930 Fred Edwards attacked commercial sport even further stating that star players were rewarded with jobs for which they were paid salaries far beyond their earning power and that some players never went near the plant except on pay day.[140]

Strangely enough, two years after his initial statements Roxborough took the opposite stand praising commercial sport and refuting most of his former statements and also those allegations made by Fred Edwards. In December of 1930 he cited several examples of top commercial hockey and baseball teams comprised of players who had long standing service with the firm and who attended work daily. He went on to say that sport advertising was largely mythical:

> If I like the Bell Telephone team do I order another phone or put in a long distance call to Australia? If I read that the York Mills Oil Company has signed "Bullets" Shoehorn, the best centre man in hockey, do I stop using some other gasoline and fill my tank with Lightning gas? One firm I know has recieved a prominence from athletics to a degree that few others have possessed, yet its progress in business has been astonishingly slow.[141]

Whether Roxborough had a change of heart or whether he simply did not want to agree with Fred Edwards is difficult to ascertain. One thing is clear--commercial or industrial sport had grown to the point where it was considered a controversial issue worthy of sports journalists' consideration.

The logical explanation is that industrial sport operated at two levels. At the upper level were the industrial teams with star players who, in fact, were acquiring worthwhile advertisement for their companies and who did at times receive financial advantages. At the lower level were the numerous teams that received very little recognition from the press, perhaps one of the many company softball teams or maybe one of the teams playing in the firm's bowling league.

Even after the severe effects of the depression took hold frequent reports on commercial sport continued to appear in the major city newspapers across Canada. One can reasonably assume that most companies suffering from the financial strain imposed by the depression were forced to decrease their allotments to sport, but still they continued to sponsor industrial teams. In 1937 Tommy Munns of The Globe and Mail wrote the following in praise of commercial sport:

> In Canada we have become accustomed to commercial sport so that it fits into the athletic life of the country in a quiet way, and is accepted as a matter of course. There was bitter resentment of the inroads of mercantile-sponsored teams and athletes at first, but that barrier has been broken down and the scraps tossed on the ash heap.
>
> Indeed, thinking sports officials have come around to the realization that commercial sponsorship has been the salvation of more than one sport, the money of the backer enabling teams and leagues that would have folded up under the old conditions of club financing to carry on competitively. The U.S., always counted a progressive country, has been behind Canada in mixing commercial backing into the amateur set-up.[142]

It is clear that by the end of the 1930's commercial sport had become an accepted part of Canadian urban life.

Urbanization affected sport in yet another way--it provided an impetus to women's increased involvement in physical activities. As more and more women moved from a rural agrarian society to an urban industrialized society their traditional values lost hold and became modified. Women on farms had always had a full-time job on their hands, particularly before the spread of urban amenities to the countryside, but in the city, by contrast, gainful employment was carried on outside the household and women moved out of their traditional roles.[143] During World War I women proved to the nation, and also themselves, that they were economically capable of independence, and by 1919 they had the right to vote.

Prior to the 1920's, as Jones pointed out, emancipated women had demonstrated their desire for freedom and equality by increasing their participation in the established sports and by branching into many new activities, such as baseball, bowling, skiing, field hockey, rowing, canoeing, and badminton.[144] Lansley labelled the 1920's as the "renaissance for women", a time when their search for identity took many of them into the world of athletics.[145] It was during the 1920's that Canadian women organized their own sports governing body and gained world recognition through their achievements in international sport.

During the inter-war years women continued to surge forward into man's athletic domain--there was scarcely any department of sport in which women did not engage.[146] In 1922, for example, the Toronto Hockey League started a ladies section for the first time:

> The eyes of the local outdoor hockey world are on the ladies' section. For many years hockey has been organized and under proper control, and sections embracing practically every age have been operated with splendid success. But this organization was only for boys and men, and the so-called "weaker sex" was left out in the cold, so to speak. The young ladies were forced to confine themselves to skating and their interest in the great winter pastime was to watch the male exponents of the puck-chasing art from the sidelines and to cheer their champions on to victory.
>
> The officers of the Toronto Hockey League, however, stepped into the breach this season and gathered together a strong six-team series of ladies' sextets.[147]

Throughout that same year in Toronto a lively controversy was being staged as to whether or not women were to continue as active participants in soccer matches.[148]

On the Atlantic coast in 1926 a five-mile walking race for women was initiated[149] while across the country women started entering marathon swims such as the one featured at the Canadian National Exhibition. In

Winnipeg, lady paddlers were first admitted to the Winnipeg Canoe Club in 1928[150] and the next year staged their first all-girl's regatta which drew one-hundred entries.[151] With the growth of box lacrosse in British Columbia in the 1930's women also became active participants in that rough-and-tumble sport.

In conjunction with women's increased participation in strenuous sports there were appropriate changes made in their wearing apparel:

> A quarter of a century ago a girl minced through her calisthenic exercises because of her high heels. She found it difficult to bend her knees because a skirt encased her like a tube. A tight belt, a snugly fitted shirtwaist with a collar to her ear lobes, and a quantity of piled hair made it difficult to exercise strenuously and to retain her look of neatness and dignity.
>
> But today, flat rubber-soled "gym" shoes, ankle socks, bare legs, trunks, a simple "gym" shirt neatly tucked in, short hair! No wonder the modern girl can run, jump, turn cartwheels and summersaults. No wonder she can be extremely fit.[152]

The progress of women in sport during the 1920's was well illustrated in an article appearing in The Western Home Monthly in 1931. Here it was stated that ten years before the war there were no women competing in athletics in Canada. By 1918 there were a few. By 1931 besides the great host who took part in bonspiels and in tennis and badminton tournaments, there was a respectable number of girls in their teens or early twenties who played the strenuous games of basketball and hockey and participated in track and field.[153] Although the author was exaggerating about the complete absence of women in athletics prior to the war, this bit of hyperbole served to emphasize women's increased involvement in sport in the twenties.

Canadian women's increased participation in athletics was paralleled by a remarkable success in sport. The Edmonton Grads, whose long list of accomplishments have already been discussed, were well-known throughout Canada, the U.S.A., and Europe. Other female athletes also gained national and international recognition. During the first half of the 1920's Gladys Robinson of Toronto set several world speed-skating records,[154] and captured honours like the Women's International Speed-Skating Championship.[155] Her accomplishments received extensive coverage from the press, and in 1923 her picture frequently appeared in The Globe and Mail in an advertisement for C.C.M. skates. After Miss Robinson turned professional in 1925,[156] Leila Brooks Potter, also of Toronto, continued Gladys' record breaking ways, smashing several world's records in the late twenties and early thirties.[157]

The names of female golfers like Ada MacKenzie of Toronto and Mrs. Hope Gibson of Hamilton were seen regularly on the sports page. In fact, in 1935 Miss MacKenzie won her tenth Canadian women's golf title[158] since the national championship started in 1922.[159]

It was in track and field that Canadian women gained their greatest recognition. Early indications of the excellence of Canada's female track and field athletes were seen at the C.N.E. in 1924:

> Girl athletes, although far outnumbered by competitors of the sterner sex, dominated the Annual Sports Day at the Canadian National Exhibition on Saturday in so far as interest in the events was concerned. The foremost girl track performers of the United States met in a number of contests of speed, and the Misses Canada practically monopolized the honours. Rosa Grosse, Toronto sprinter, achieved several conspicuous successes, her most dangerous competitor being "Bobby" Rosenfeld of the same team.[160]

Then in 1925 "Bobby" Rosenfeld set a new world's record of 26 seconds for the 220-yard dash,[161] and at the first Canadian girls' track and field championships hosted by the Toronto Women's Athletic Club in 1926 9 Canadian women's records were established.[162] The top performances exhibited by the women at the Canadian championships two years later in Halifax created feelings of optimism for their chances at the 1928 Olympics.[163]

The climax came in Amsterdam when the six-women track and field team captured first place in the women's track and field event. "Bobby" Rosenfeld won the 100-metres while Ethel Smith placed third. In the 800-metres Jean Thompson finished fourth and "Bobby" Rosenfeld followed in fifth position. Then Ethel Catherwood established a world's record of 1.59 metres in winning the high jump. As a grand finale Canada's 400-metre relay team composed of Ethel Smith, "Bobby" Rosenfeld, Jane Bell and Myrtle Cook won the finals setting another world's record.[164] In the next two Olympics, in spite of strong performances by Hilda Strike (second in 100-metres in 1932), Eva Dawes (third in high jump in 1932), and Betty Taylor (third in 80-metre hurdles in 1936),[165] Canadian women were unable to equal their astounding achievement of 1928.

It is of interest to note that all six of Canada's female track and field team in Amsterdam were from Ontario, and furthermore that except for Jean Thompson they all operated out of Toronto.[166] Ethel Catherwood had started her track and field career in Saskatoon but had moved to Toronto to train. The members of the 1932 women's Olympic track and field team, although not just from Ontario this time, were still predominantly from urban centres. They came from: Halifax, Vancouver, Hamilton, Toronto, Montreal and New Liskeard with the last named being the only town.[167] Once again, the 1934 women's track and field team for the British Empire Games had a preponderance of women from cities including: six from Toronto, four from Hamilton, two from Vancouver, and one each from Halifax, Winnipeg, and Calgary.[168] These facts further substantiate statements made earlier that urban-dwelling females, mainly from heavily populated areas of Southern Ontario, led the way in women's invasion upon man's athletic domain.

One of the most significant progressive steps made by Canadian women in the realm of sport was at the organizational level. With the tremendous growth of women's athletics in Canada during the early 1920's there arose a need for a sports governing body for women.[169] Consequently, in 1926 the Women's Amateur Athletic Federation was formed and was represented at the annual meeting of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada that year.[170] The following appeared in The Globe and Mail concerning the inauguration of this body:

> Canada's women athletes will have a nation-wide organization to direct their destinies and encourage competition in the year about to open, such as has never been available to them before. The Women's Amateur Athletic Federation of Canada finds its counterpart in the British women's governing body and seems destined to do an immeasurable amount of good in Canada. This country is now divided into branches such as those that function under A.A.U. of C. auspices. Miss Janet H. Allan of Toronto is provisional President and Miss A. E. M. Parkes, University of Toronto, is provisional Secretary.[171]

Women's invasion of man's world of athletics did not go without opposition. Relationships between women athletes and the A.A.U. of C. became somewhat strained as a result of female participation in the 1928 Olympics.[172] Dr. A. S. Lamb, president of the A.A.U., "...hurled a bombshell with telling effect when he voted against having women compete in the world's championship events".[173] The conflict was finally reduced to a personal feud between Miss Gibb and Dr. Lamb with the "weaker sex" receiving firm support from Messrs. Mulqueen and Robinson and to a large extent, from the Canadian news media. When Dr. Lamb resigned as president at the Union meeting in 1928, favourable relationships resumed between the respective controlling bodies of men's and women's amateur athletics.[174]

In general, most sportswriters applauded women's participation in sports of all types, but one writer, Elmer Ferguson, vehemently opposed strenuous sports for girls in his article, "I Don't Like Amazon Athletes":

> Sorry, but in girls' sport I can't go for those violent, face-straining, face-dirtying, body-bouncing, sweaty, graceless, stumbling, struggling, wrenching, racking, jarring, and floundering events that some girls see fit to indulge in. Sorry again, but I like grace, sweetness, rhythm, freedom from sweat and freedom from grime among the girls. Of course, it's a matter of taste. Some of the boys may like to see the girlfriend lumbering along from first to second in a softball game, hitting the dirt on her ear, and coming in with a lot of mud or sand ground into her visage. Probably there are some who are elemental that way. They may like to see the girls at hockey, a spectacle which I consider reaches the lower ends of competitive athletic entertainment after you've watched the grace and speed and certainty and skill with which males perform. They may like to see some nice girl body-check another and knock her down, half-stunned and breathless, though, in all truth, the girls in hockey skate in such rickety fashion, bobble along so uncertainly, that a good strong breeze will pretty nearly blow them off their stumbling feet, and body-checks are just so much wasted effort.[175]

Ferguson felt women should stick to the things that they could do "...gracefully, beautifully with rhythm without strain...", sports such as speed and figure skating, tennis, golf, and swimming, and leave the vigorous activities to men. Otherwise, it would not be long before they would be boxing and wrestling too.[176]

Roxy Atkins an "Amazon athlete" who had been a member of Canada's Empire Games team in London and the Olympic team in Berlin and who was Secretary of the Ontario Branch of the Women's Amateur Athletic Federation,[177] retaliated a few weeks later with an article appropriately titled "Elmer, You're Goofy". Here she pointed out that she was in favour of those activities which Elmer deemed suitable for women, but also supported women's participation in those sports upon his "black-list". She emphasized that sports like figure skating and golf were too expensive for the average working girl and that although diving and swimming did not present the same financial handicaps there were hundreds of rural communities in Canada where proper facilities were not available whereas in these lesser towns there usually was "...a softball diamond, a running track or even enough ice for a hockey game".[178] She continued her argument stating:

> But come, come, Elmer pull yourself together. Don't tell me a dirty face gets you down so much that you can't see "grace, sweetness, and rhythm" in the poor girl. Even beautiful women gather soot from ugly smoke, dirt from highways and dust from housecleaning. Ever see a pretty stenographer with inky fingers from typewriter ribbons. Would Elmer have us run races with a powder puff in one hand and a mirror in the other? Of course athletic girls sometimes have dirty faces, but not often or for very long. Besides, it would be generally agreed that the outdoor, sport-loving girl has a naturally healthier color than the nonplaying type who depends on artifice for her color.[179]

Although there was staunch opposition to women's increased participation in sport from a few people like Dr. A. S. Lamb and Elmer Ferguson it seems that the vast majority supported women's new venture wholeheartedly. The acceptance of women into the world of sports gained a foothold first in the city, for it was there that traditional values lost their hold and were modified.

As has been witnessed from this discussion on urbanization traditional values certainly did change in the realm of sport in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's--professional and pseudo-amateur sport displaced amateur sport from its position of prominence; commercial sport became a major avenue through which mass participation was promoted; and women invaded man's athletic domain. Urban centres which were in a constant state of flux were the natural sites for these transitions to occur, and because the urbanizing process prevailed in Eastern Ontario and Southwestern Quebec it was from these areas that the changes discussed spread throughout the rest of Canada.

Religion

The influence of religion upon sport in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's was somewhat paradoxical. The obsolete Sunday observance laws passed by the Federal Government in 1906 restricted Sunday sport[180] while on the other hand churches promoted a wide variety of physical activities by forming leagues, and also the Y.M.C.A.'s played a leading role in sport.

It was not until the latter half of the 1930's that Canadians began to ignore those laws which restricted their activity on Sundays. In 1938 Toronto citizens were complaining bitterly because the public parks and playgrounds were closed on the Sabbath while private clubs were able to enjoy playing Sunday sport:

> As far as civic encouragement is concerned, Sunday athletic recreation in Toronto is strictly taboo. A fine system of parks and playgrounds is open six days in the week for those fortunate enough to have time to enjoy them, but recreational facilities are padlocked on Sundays. At the same time, sporting events on private grounds go on full blast.[181]

The protests were heeded, for in August of that same year the Toronto Board of Control opened the parks to the public on Sundays. Although it was considered a progressive step for those days, it is interesting to note that the parks were still to remain closed part of Sunday "...so as not to interfere with church services...".[182] A similar procedure was utilized in Montreal whereby the Sabbath was open for games only after morning Mass.[183]

Elsewhere, in the Maritimes for example, similar problems with Sunday sport were encountered. In 1933 several clergy objected to the Sunday radio broadcast of the Hawks-Quakers Allan Cup game.[184] Then in 1936 railway authorities in Nova Scotia abandoned plans for ski trains that winter after protests had been received about the desecration of the Sabbath by skiers. One Halifax clergyman, the Rev. H. I. S. Borgford spoke out in defence of Sunday recreation:

> Outdoor activities, insofar as they serve in developing and strengthening people, can be considered as religious exercises. We in this community have recently been made aware of the fact that the ski enthusiasts have been denied special Sunday trains for the enjoyment of sport. This is not a unique problem since it is essentially the same in all other sports, such as golf, tennis, swimming and so forth, here and everywhere at various seasons of the year.
>
> I don't think anyone will deny the real value of these outdoor activities, they are healthful. In a great many cases too many people would not have the benefit of them if they were denied the right to enjoy them on Sunday.
>
> To me, at any rate, insofar as they serve in developing and strengthening people, I must consider them as religious exercises. For me they are a phase of true religion.
>
> What the inhibitors of these activities hope to gain by their actions, I frankly cannot understand. Perhaps they have some hope that if the day can be kept clear of all sporting activities men and women will turn their thoughts to religion.[185]

Obviously the clergymen were split in their attitude towards Sunday sport.

Regardless of how some of the clergymen felt, there was a definite trend towards ignoring the Sunday observance laws. A Sunday cricket game played by Army and Navy in Halifax in 1936 was one of the first indications of an acceptance in the Maritimes of competition on Sunday. It was reported that residents of the city out for a walk past the Garrison playing field were surprised to see the two teams contesting the old English sport, and before long a large crowd had gathered. About this break from the past a Chronicle Herald reporter wrote:

> And so it went, at the grounds without exception. Twenty years ago, never. Today, most certainly yes. The new-generation growing up wants something more than staying home on a hot afternoon. Without a car the average person has little to do, it was explained.
>
> It is a strange coincidence that the Army and Navy, who were the original founders of sport in the Garrison city, should be the first to introduce the Sunday sport.[186]

A similar disregard for the Sunday observance laws was seen throughout Canada in the late 1930's. Most Canadians wanted Sunday sport and were willing to test the law to achieve their goals in spite of opposition from groups like the Lord's Day Alliance.[187] In 1938 the Hon. Gordon D. Conant, the Attorney-General of Ontario, admitted that these laws were almost impossible to enforce and that they were not in tune with modern conditions.[188]

Even though religion had a repressive effect upon Sunday sport during the twenties and part of the thirties its positive influences far outweighed the negative. The significant role played by the Church of the Latter Day Saints in promoting basketball in Southern Alberta has already been discussed (pp. 50-51). Generally church leagues of all religious denominations rated high in participation. Among the sports included in Sunday school or church leagues were hockey, basketball, baseball, softball, soccer, track and field, badminton, and tennis. Competition was provided for all age groups and skill levels as can be seen from the fact that the Greater Vancouver Sunday School Basketball League had a senior men's league as well as intermediate "A" and "B" leagues which were further divided into divisions.[189] In 1925 eighty-six teams applied for berths in the Greater Vancouver Sunday School Basketball League necessitating the operation of fourteen divisions.[190] A similar breakdown existed in the soccer league whereby there were several age categories including: senior, intermediate "A" and "B", junior "A" and "B", and juvenile.[191]

Participation in Sunday school leagues was high in most urban centres in the country. Winnipeg's Sunday School Athletic League reported a successful season in 1926 with 42 teams from 25 Sunday schools in the football league, 58 teams from 38 Sunday schools in hockey, 81 teams from 32 Sunday schools in basketball, and a total of 455 boys participating in the Sunday school track and field meet.[192] Smaller centres also operated church leagues but not on such a large scale as the cities. For instance, in 1926 a church softball league comprised of 8 teams: First United, St. James Presbyterians, First Baptist, St. John's, Immaculate Conception, Sacred Heart; St. Andrew's United, and Brunswick Street United was formed in Truro, Nova Scotia.[193] Smaller towns were forced to form inter-denominational church leagues whereas in the larger cities each main religious denomination often had its own league like the Presbyterian Football League[194] and the United Churches Football League[195] found in Winnipeg. The winners of these denominational leagues often played off for a city championship.

Some churches provided excellent sports facilities for their congregations;

> Today there is a long list of church gymnasia in Vancouver.
> Those of both Chalmers United and Canadian Memorial have swimming tanks with special instructors in manual training for both sexes.
> Very fine equipment is provided also in St. Mark's Anglican Church Hall, and the new hall of St. Paul's Church parish in the West End, as well as the Father Clinton Hall in connection with St. James Anglican Church. St. Saviour's Grandview, also had similar equipment.
> Other new church gymnasia added to church equipment in recent years included Fairview Baptist. The United Church has structures at Dunbar Heights, Trinity Church, Vancouver Heights, Collingwood, Knox Church, Cedar Cottage and Marpole.[196]

Not all churches were as fortunate as those mentioned in Vancouver. Due to a lack of church gymnasia, Sunday school basketball in Winnipeg was played in various city schools at the midget and junior levels while the senior league was conducted in the Y.M.C.A.[197]

The Y.M.C.A. co-operated with the churches in other ventures as well. In Vancouver in 1930 the Y.M.C.A. set up special programs for training leaders in the church groups:

> In this movement the city Y.M.C.A. has worked handsomely by creating special classes in their season's program for leaders in the church groups. Leaders on gym floors are needed to handle methodically a group of young colts, to put them through their paces and make "physical jerks" orderly discipline. This year the "Y's" task takes the form of a weekly class in Union College in Point Grey, where the young theologs are being instructed as boy trainers, so that in their life work they will be able to conduct their own classes in physical training.[198]

Although religion had become de-emphasized in the Y.M.C.A. from its former level by 1920,[199] one of the Y.M.C.A.'s goals, teaching a Christian way of life, still remained as a guiding principle. The concepts of progressive education that had stemmed largely from John Dewey's philosophy that the child should "learn by doing" were incorporated into the Y.M.C.A. "project method".[200] It was felt that sports helped to instill many desirable qualities in youth, and for this reason the Y.M.C.A. played an active role in sport.

The Y.M.C.A. promoted a wide variety of sports including basketball, boxing, wrestling, swimming, gymnastics, hockey, weight-lifting, badminton, baseball, softball, canoeing, rowing, water polo, track and field, soccer, rugger, and football. Of these sports the Y.M.C.A. played a particularly prominent role in basketball, gymnastics, swimming, boxing, and wrestling.

Basketball's popularity grew rapidly in the 1920's with the Y.M.C.A.'s figuring highly in its proliferation. It was the Central Y.M.C.A. in Toronto that fostered the movement for a senior men's Canadian basketball championship which became an actuality in 1924.[201] During the twenties basketball spread out from the Y.M.C.A. into public and athletic clubs:[202]

> Basketball is now one of the best known games in Canada today (1928). Its rise has been remarkable in the last two or three years. The game itself is largely played in the Y.M.C.A. throughout Canada, but there are now many private leagues throughout the Dominion. Each year at this season, the winners of these different leagues play off, and a Dominion championship series is played to determine the team worthy of these laurels. The first game was played in 1898 in the old 90th Drill Hall, but the Y.M.C.A. was instrumental in bringing it to the fore during the years from 1900 to 1910.[203]

In spite of this extension of basketball outside the Y.M.C.A., the "Y's" continued to promote the sport and also to produce top teams that frequently gained recognition at both the provincial and national levels. Sports page headlines like: "HALIFAX Y.M.C.A. WINS MARITIME INTERMEDIATE TITLE AT BASKETBALL",[204] "VANCOUVER 'Y' SQUAD CAPTURES CAGE TITLE",[205] and "TRURO Y.M.C.A. TAKES FIRST OF PLAYOFF FOR PROVINCIAL BASKETBALL TITLE"[206] were indicative of the Y.M.C.A.'s involvement in basketball.

Similarly, the Y.M.C.A.'s promoted gymnastics. Nurmberg reported that from 1900 to the 1950's the Y.M.C.A. played a major role in the development of gymnastics by providing leadership, instruction, facilities, and equipment which otherwise were not available. In many centres, expecially in the Prairie Provinces, gymnastics was confined to the Y.M.C.A.'s, and as a result throughout the 1920's and 1930's the "Y" gymnasts dominated local, provincial, and national championships.[207]

Whatever the sport, amateurism was encouraged by the Y.M.C.A. In fact, the Y.M.C.A. Athletic League had been affiliated with the A.A.U. of C. since 1905[208] enabling athletes registered with the league to take part in any amateur competition in Canada. In 1926 the secretary of the Athletic League, J. H. Crocker, reported that 54 associations in Canada were members of the Athletic League and 1,680 Y.M.C.A. members were registered with the A.A.U. of C. and competed in open competitions.[209]

The following article written by M. J. Rodden in The Globe and Mail in 1931 illustrates the active role in sport played by the Y.M.C.A.:

> Reports of very definite progress will be represented at the annual meeting of Central Y.M.C.A. tomorrow evening. Every department of the institution has been more active than ever before, with the physical department doing splendid work. An attendance increase of 14,000 is reported by the physical department, which provides figures which show that over 148,000 participated in the all-round physical program.
>
> Swimming, which is given considerable attention at the "Y" kept pace with other departments. Not only have Central's swimming stars been successful in open competition, but 543 boys and 367 men have been taught to swim. Interest in Central "Y's" program continues to increase, and those in charge anticipate another year of outstanding achievement.[210]

Judging from similar reports in other newspapers, the Y.M.C.A. was equally active in sport throughout Canada during the period between the two world wars.

From the preceding discussion it can be seen that religion affected sport in Canada in both a positive and a negative manner. On the one hand, Sunday observance laws repressed Sunday sport until the latter part of the 1930's, while on the other hand the active role played by the churches and the Y.M.C.A.'s in promoting participation in a wide variety of activites was extremely beneficial to sport in Canada. The positive side certainly outbalanced the negative.

Education

Education at all three stages, primary, secondary, and tertiary, also affected the development of sport in Canada both through the physical education programs and through interscholastic or intercollegiate athletics. One aspect of education that was particularly influential in the progress of physical education and interscholastic sport at the primary and secondary levels during the inter-war period was the growth of progressive education.

As Cremin pointed out, progressive education had begun in the U.S.A. as part and parcel of a broader program of social and political reform called the Progressive Movement:

> Contrary to the widespread misconception that it dates from the advent of the Progressive Education Association in 1919, the idea had its origin during the quarter-century before World War I in an effort to cast the school as a fundamental lever of social and political regeneration. It began as a many-sided protest against a restricted view of the school, but it was always more than this; for essentially it viewed education as an adjunct to politics in realizing the promise of American life.[211]

The principles of the Progressive Education Association resulted from the combination of the thoughts of many great educators and philosophers. For instance, greater attention was to be given to all that affected the child's physical development. This concept could be traced back to the ideas of such people as Bacon, Locke, Rousseau, and Pestalozzi that the health of the body was essential to the health of the mind and that play was a central activity of childhood and should be encouraged.[212] Furthermore, Dewey's concept of the child-centred school in which the child learned by experience was incorporated into the principles of the Progressive Education Association. Dewey said that education was not just for life, rather education was life itself. A closer examination of the development of physical education reveals that some of these ideas were influential in its progress after World War I.

Prior to World War I the Strathcona Military Trust and the British Syllabus of Physical Training, 1909 had played an important role in establishing military drill and the Ling system of gymnastics into the primary and secondary schools. With the First World War in progress enthusiasm for military drill was high, but by the end of the conflict drill was being questioned.[213] In the years after World War I military drill declined in popularity but was replaced by a para-military form of physical education. While marching and "normal" drill declined the language and organization of military drill remained in vogue. The Syllabus of Physical Training for Schools, 1919, a revised version of the 1909 British Syllabus, became the standard text of physical training in Canada.

Gymnastics filled the breach left by the demise of drill. Neils Bukh, the eminent Danish physical educator, provided the stimulus needed for gymnastics. After a tour of the United States in 1923 and Great Britain in 1927, Bukh visited Canada. The performance of his gymnastic team created a demand for the Danish system of gymnastics, which appeared to be of a more rythmical nature than the Swedish system. The famous British Syllabus of 1933 was based upon the Danish system of gymnastics, and it became the "Bible" of Canadian physical education teachers after 1933.[214]

In that same year the Canadian Physical Education Association was formed. In the first publication of the newly-founded association, president A. S. Lamb spoke out against the Strathcona Trust and military drill:

> It (physical education) is often looked upon as an addendum, a frill, an extra, and all that is necessary is to have some ignoramus snap out a few commands, strut about like a powter pigeon, and treat the children like so many automatic tin soldiers. God forbid that this constricted, limited, narrow archaic point of view should be further perpetuated. The Department of Militia and Defence and the Strathcona Trust have done irreparable harm to Canada in promulgating such false and imbecilic notions regarding the place that physical education should play in education. I shudder for the future when I think of some 5,000 teachers in our Normal Schools

> who, today and year by year through "systems" of instruction, are getting this restricted conception of the part that physical education should play in the enrichment and fullness of living....215

Without a doubt, the Strathcona Trust and its system of military drill did retard the development of a more progressive approach to physical education, but still, the situation was not as deplorable as Lamb stated. As early as 1921 the Alberta Normal School instructors felt that the time for change was auspicious and that teacher preparation institutions should initiate changes in curricula for the improvement of teachers. One of their recommendations was the formulation of a course having broader scope and freedom from military strictness.[216] About the physical education program at the Calgary Normal School, Rae Chittick, a former instructor of health education at the institution wrote:

> Physical Education was taught by army officers because of the Strathcona Trust which paid for the instruction. The early instructors gave a good deal of army drill but this gradually changed and the instructors you mention (Sgt. T. H. Barker, Sgt. P. Sutherland, Sgt. Maj. O'Hanlon) developed a much more appropriate program. They were helped by manuals of instruction as well as directives from their commanding officers. They were also carefully chosen in that they were good at sports and were usually young and willing to learn. Certainly, they made a sincere effort to introduce less rigidity, a varied program and considerable emphasis on games, track and field and intercollegiate teams, particularly in basketball. It seemed to me the army attitude was much more pronounced in the relationship between the instructor and student-teachers than in respect to the subject matter or course material developed. They took full responsibility for helping students with practice lessons in physical education and usually did an excellent job. I think the change from army drill to more appropriate instruction of children began much before the progressive education movement. When I came as a health instructor to the Calgary Normal School in 1926, there was a much more varied physical education programme than when I was a student-teacher in that same school ten years before.217

Other provinces, in addition to Alberta, were making efforts to eliminate military drill. In British Columbia after a comprehensive survey of the public school system in 1924, Putnam paid special attention to the professional preparation of teachers in health and physical education.[218] Putnam and Weir made recommendations to revise the formal course of physical education in the normal schools, to require professional training for physical education instructors equivalent to other teachers, and to extend preparation patterned after the McGill course.[219]

This general movement away from military drill was in keeping with one of the concepts of progressive education--the child should be free to develop naturally with the teacher acting as a guide rather than as a task-master.[220]

It was not until the latter half of the 1930's that a more child-centred approach to physical education was formally set out in curriculum guides. In Alberta, for example, the 1936 program of studies for elementary schools laid a great deal of emphasis upon a "progressive" approach to teaching physical education. The physical education program was divided into two divisions with much of the work in rhythmic, dramatic and imitative activities centering in the work of enterprises which allowed the integration of physical education with other subjects.[221] In Division I, the greater part of the time devoted to physical education was to be given to free play, story plays, games, and rhythmic activities such as rhythms and singing games. About drills and marching it was stated:

> A limited amount of marching technique is of value for the orderly movement of pupils from one place to another. Without the rigidity of the soldier type of drill, marching may be utilized to accomplish desirable motor training. Marching tactics have little disciplinary value except to develop the ability to respond en masse to command. Such value should be claimed where responses have a meaning in the school and social life of the community, for example, in fire drills and parades.[222]

It was recognized that the child should be free to develop naturally and that co-operation among the school, home, and community was necessary to meet the needs of the child.

Thomas Parker of The Chronicle Herald wrote the following about the new course of study in Nova Scotia:

> Every teacher in our city has a "Handbook to the Course of Study." This was published in 1935 by our Provincial Department of Education and is an outline of the new curriculum introduced into our schools about that time. If you turn to page 298 you will see the introductory passage on Physical Education. "Physical welfare is a fundamental requirement for successful and happy living. Physical development and whole-souled play are inseparable. Physical education, therefore, is essential in the scheme of education" and so on. Nothing more clearly illustrates the trend of progressive education and the growing awareness generally of the necessity of physical education as an integral part of our school curriculum.[223]

The main emphasis upon the "enterprise" in physical education appeared in the curricula for the primary grade levels whereas there was an obvious absence of a formal improvisation of a progressive approach to physical education at the intermediate and secondary levels. Logan, writing in the Bulletin of the Canadian Physical Education Association recognized that:

> The problem of secondary education has become one of the most important and the most difficult of all the problems with which educationists have to deal today. The elementary schools, as I have shown, have adapted themselves to modern conditions of life; the high schools are still to a very large extent tradition bound.[224]

Although formal program changes in physical education were lacking for intermediate and secondary schools, a more progressive approach to physical education was evident in other ways. Increased emphasis was being placed by physical educators upon those activities, that, learned in early life, could be enjoyed in later years.[225]

Also there was a swing towards extra-curricular activities in an attempt to draw education closer to life. As evidenced from the following quotation, the idea that education was to prepare children for life in a democracy was used to justify and emphasize the importance of extra-curricular activities:

> The main purpose of extra-curricular activities in Canadian schools is to prepare the pupils for life in a democracy. From well directed extra-curricular activities pupils learn to co-operate with their fellows and thus prepare themselves better for life after school days. They can develop their own special abilities through literary, debating, and dramatic societies, musical organizations, clubs and organized sports.[226]

Of the above mentioned extra-curricular activities organized sport was considered particularly important, and it was here that education made one of its most significant contributions to the development of sport in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's.

Interscholastic competition was held in numerous sports including hockey, football, basketball, track and field, soccer, lacrosse, rowing, speed-skating, swimming, cricket, rugger, baseball, and softball. Here many athletes received their introduction to and initial training in their favourite sport. In Vancouver 30 schoolboy rugger teams proved to be nurseries for the senior organizations[227] while in the Maritimes in 1926 over 500 athletes were engaged in high school rugger.[228]

Schools also were training grounds for track and field with the first Dominion Interscholastic Track and Field Championships being held in 1922.[229] Because of the costs of travel this annual meet usually did not draw competitors from distant parts of Canada. As part of the overall program there were also local, provincial, and regional meets providing school athletes an opportunity to compete in track and field. At the local level in British Columbia the Okanagan Valley interscholastic track and field meet was first held in 1921[230] while the British Columbia High School Olympiad started in 1929. This meet, held under the auspices of the Vancouver Exhibition Association and the Vancouver Sun attracted 115 individual high school champions representing 30 schools from all parts of the province in its inaugural year.[231] On the Atlantic coast, the Nova Scotia interscholastic track and field meet called the Acadia Relays started in 1925,[232] and the Maritime interscholastic track and field meet known as the Dalhousie Bowl commenced in 1929.[233] Then in 1934-35 12 Canadian schoolboys were sent to participate in the Intra-Empire Schoolboy Games in Melbourne, Australia.[234]

The following statistics reported by Secretary T. E. Johns of the Toronto Public school Athletic Association illustrate the active participation in interscholastic sports in that city by 1928. It should be noted that the following was an incomplete list, for students in Toronto also engaged in other interscholastic sports such as basketball, swimming, speed-skating, and rowing.

TABLE VI

PARTICIPATION IN SELECTED SPORTS IN THE TORONTO PUBLIC SCHOOL ATHLETIC ASSOCIATION IN 1928[235]

Sport	No. of Teams	No. of League Games	No. of Practice Games	No. of Boys Engaged
Track and Field	--	--	--	7,032
Hockey	221	539	1,310	3,553
Baseball	227	645	2,914	6,730
Football	149	431	1,307	4,110
Volleyball	21	54	1,121	1,319
Lacrosse	20	56	217	402
Total	628	1,726	6,896	23,146

Regular coverage given to interscholastic sport by the major newspapers indicated a public interest in high school sport. The Chronicle Herald was especially diligent in reporting upon interscholastic sport, possibly because many of the leagues competed for trophies bearing its name. The following is a typical report on a high school athletic event:

> It was a record-breaking night for the schools' speedskating meet held at the Amphitheatre on Saturday night under the auspices of the Winnipeg Schools' Athletic Association. One of the largest crowds in the history of the meet, some 3,700 strong, looked on while the largest entry the executive has ever handled, 688 competitors, skated all out for their respective schools.[236]

By the end of the 1930's, therefore, interscholastic sport was becoming an accepted part of urban school life. The rural areas were not so fortunate as they lacked facilities and numbers, but still they played impromptu games. Whether the school was urban or rural there was a definite move away from military drill towards participation in games, which was heartily approved by the advocates of progressive education.

Intercollegiate sport had become an accepted part of university life much earlier than interscholastic sport had come into vogue in the high schools. As early as 1906 the original Intercollegiate Athletic Union comprised of Queen's, McGill, and the University of Toronto with Ottawa College, Trinity College, McMaster College, and Royal Military College as associate members had been formed.[237] The Maritime Intercollegiate Athletic Union formally came into existence in 1910 and the Western Canadian Intercollegiate Athletic Union was organized in 1920.[238] Not only did the universities compete among themselves, but also they played in local senior and intermediate leagues and entered playdowns for national amateur titles. Through their intercollegiate teams universities played a significant role in the development of sport in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's.

Universities figured prominently in Canadian football during the early 1920's. In fact, from the time the Grey Cup was instituted in 1909 until 1924, university teams held the title continuously except for three years.[239] During the early 1920's teams of the Canadian Intercollegiate Rugby Football Union dominated the Canadian football scene. The following is an account of the eastern final between Queen's and the Argonauts in 1922 when college football was reaching its zenith:

> Two mighty football teams gave their best in a herculean struggle here on Saturday afternoon, when Queen's University seniors, champions of the Intercollegiate Union defeated the Argonauts, unbeaten interprovincial titleholders, by 12 to 11 in a game that will never be forgotten by the near record crowd in attendance. For 60 minutes the men of brawn and courage wearing the double blue colors battled as valiantly as their conquerors, only to go down before the speed and trickery of the foe; plus the uncanny judgement of Harry Batstone, a life member of the Argos.[240]

However, after 1924 when Queen's won her third consecutive Grey Cup, no college team again won the national football title.[241] It became increasingly evident that the city teams were becoming too powerful for the universities especially after the importation of American players began in earnest. Finally in 1934 it was announced that the champions of the Intercollegiate Union would not participate in the Dominion series any more:

> Previous to the opening of the football season it was officially announced that the champions of the Intercollegiate Union would not participate in the Dominion series, but that the teams finishing first and second would emulate their hockey brethern and meet in play-off games. Those in charge of the "rah-rah" union made a wise decision, a case of discretion being the better part of valor. Their standard-bearers would be outclassed when opposing a team like Sarnia or the Big Four representatives, and they would get nothing out of such a

> clash except experience, punishment and gate receipts.
>
> The Intercollegiate Union isn't what it used to be, and it has been in decline since 1925 when Queen's mysteriously lost to the Rough Riders at Ottawa.[242]

Although the University of Toronto team of 1932 was the last official representative of the Intercollegiate Union in the C.R.U. series for the Canadian championship, most records show that the Intercollegiate Union competed in the C.R.U. finals of 1935. In reality, however, the team from Queen's that was trounced forty-four to four by the Hamilton Tigers[243] represented only that institution and not the Intercollegiate Union.[244]

In spite of the fact that the gap widened between the calibre of senior and intercollegiate football after 1925, college football continued to get good coverage from the press and drew large crowds in the range of 13,000[245] and 14,000[246] at Varsity Stadium in Toronto and capacity crowds of 6,000[247,248] at Richardson and Little Memorial Stadiums in Kingston and London respectively.

Western universities also started to promote Canadian football in 1927 when a schedule was first played among Saskatchewan, Manitoba, and Alberta[249] with the University of British Columbia joining the league the following year.[250] The University of British Columbia Thunderbirds assisted in introducing the Canadian version of football upon the Pacific Coast during the late twenties and the thirties, for they played in both the Western Intercollegiate Union and the "Big Four" composed of the Meralomas, Vancouver Athletic Club, and North Shore.[251] In 1933 the University of British Columbia captured the Hardy Cup, emblematic of Western Intercollegiate football supremacy, for the fourth year since entering the conference in 1928.[252] This string of impressive victories undoubtedly brought the Canadian game to the attention of the public in British Columbia. The growth of Canadian football along the Pacific Coast was evident in the rapid expansion of the game in the high schools. In 1930 the Sun reported that Canadian rugby upon the coast was hampered by "no play in the schools"[253]; eight years later, the following report was indicative of a tremendous upsurge of the game:

> High school football has stolen the cookies from Intercollegiate and Big Four Leagues. Prince of Wales High won the "conference" title Saturday before 2,500 howling fans, blanking King Edward for the senior championship at Varsity Stadium.[254]

Western Intercollegiate football teams attracted further attention to the game. In 1931 the largest Winnipeg football crowd on record at that time, 3,500, flocked to the Balmoral Street gridiron to see the University of Manitoba defeat the University of Saskatchewan fourteen to zero.[255]

Universities in the two extremities of Canada, British Columbia and the Maritimes, contributed considerably to the success of English rugby or rugger through their active participation. The University of British Columbia entered separate teams in competition for both the McKechnie and the Miller Cups and also played annually against a California university for the World Cup.[256] In the Atlantic Provinces several university rugger teams including Dalhousie, King's, St. Mary's, and Nova Scotia Technical College, all of Halifax; St. Francis Xavier of Antigonish and Acadia of Wolfville; Mount Allison of Sackville, University of New Brunswick of Fredericton, St. Thomas of Chatham; and St. Dunstan's of Charlottetown; competed for intercollegiate rugger honours.[257] The winners of the eastern and western sections of the intercollegiate league were eligible for the McCurdy Cup playdowns for the Maritime championship. Acadia and Dalhousie who also played in the Halifax City League with the Wanderers had two opportunities to qualify for the McCurdy Cup, one in the intercollegiate and one in the city league, but in 1934 they were told they could enter the championships by only one league.[258]

In 1927 the university rugger teams and the senior clubs of the Maritime Provinces united into the Maritime Rugby Union, but by 1938 there was talk of the Intercollegiate Rugby Union separating from the Maritime Union.[259] It was felt that intercollegiate teams had been relegated to the "back row", for in the recent years the college winners who were eligible to compete in the McCurdy Cup playdowns had been forced to forfeit their right to contest for the Maritime crown because the senior dates were left until very late in the season, and the playoff dates conflicted with college exams. Only Dalhousie, Acadia, and St. Francis Xavier joined the Maritime Rugby Union in 1938.[260]

During the time that this issue was being debated, Hugh MacPherson of The Chronicle Herald pointed out the important role that the colleges played in English rugby in the Maritimes:

> We wonder how English rugby in the Maritimes could carry on at present if it were not for the support of the college fifteens. Excluding star aggregations like Dalhousie, St. Francis Xavier, Acadia, Mount Allison, and the rest, we would have left but comparatively few teams such as Caledonia, Dominion No. 11, Halifax Wanderers, Fredericton City, and a few of the minor ones....
>
> ....
>
> In the Halifax City League college teams like Dalhousie and Acadia have added lustre with the "rah!rah!" enthusiasm that has been displayed in past campaigns. One thing must be remembered and that is the fact that if rugby is to be continued as a popular sport it is left largely to the universities to carry on the work. Senior clubs have started up and then died down again but our college fifteens have always been in existence at least.[261]

Canadian and English rugby were by no means the only sports played by Canadian universities during the 1920's and 1930's. Competition was held in a wide variety of other sports. The men competed in basketball, hockey, wrestling, boxing, fencing, lacrosse, track and field, rowing, swimming, water polo, skiing, soccer, cricket, curling, tennis, squash racquets, badminton, and golf while the women participated in basketball, hockey (ice and field), track and field, tennis, swimming, skiing, archery, and badminton.[262] Several of the above mentioned activities were not recognized formally as intercollegiate sports in some conferences, but still individual universities supported teams that entered local leagues.

Prior to World War II there was very little interaction in sport among the three intercollegiate conferences. When the universities did meet with teams from other regions of the country it was usually in conjunction with national amateur championships rather than inter-conference play.

Like the regions within which the colleges were situated, universities looked to the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. for competition. The University of British Columbia competed against the University of Washington in rowing,[263] basketball,[264] hockey,[265] track and field,[266] skiing,[267] and rugger. Indeed, in 1934 the University of British Columbia varsity football team decided to split from the "Big Four" and play the American game with Washington state colleges. Because they did not win a single game and because the gates were so poor, they decided to return to the "Big Four" and Western Intercollegiate Union in 1936.[268]

Upon the Prairies the University of Manitoba played both hockey and football against American colleges like North Dakota State School of Science,[269] the University of North Dakota,[270] Gonzaga College, and the University of Minnesota.[271] Ontario and Quebec universities competed against their neighbours to the south in practically every sport contested in the Canadian colleges. Most noteworthy was the International Intercollegiate Hockey League which operated during the latter half of the 1930's. It was comprised of Queen's, the University of Toronto, McGill, the University of Montreal, Harvard, Yale, Dartmouth, and Princeton.[272] Through their active sporting interaction with the U.S.A. Canadian universities were acting as catalysts to the growth in the Americanization of Canadian sport.

During the 1920's and to a lesser extent in the 1930's Canadian universities met with success at the national and international levels in other sports besides football. In hockey, the University of Toronto and the University of Manitoba captured the Allan Cup in 1921 and 1928, respectively, while the University of Manitoba also won the Memorial Cup in 1923.[273] At the 1924 Olympics the University of Toronto eight-oared crew won a silver medal in rowing.[274] The University of British Columbia basketball team went as far as the national finals in 1925 and 1928, and finally in 1931 they emerged victorious over the St. Catharine's Grads.[275]

As was the case in football there was an apparent decline in the calibre of university sport towards the end of the 1920's. In an article entitled "What's Wrong with College Sport?" published in Maclean's in 1933 Henry Roxborough was very critical of university sport:

> Unquestionably, in recent years, the history of play in Dominion educational institutions is a tale of decadence and defeat, and the closer the analysis the more impressive does the rout appear.[276]

He pointed out that that during the first seventeen times in which Canadian universities competed for the national title in football, eleven Dominion championships were won by student teams, but in the last eight years not a single rugby honor had been gained by an educational institution. In twenty-three years of all-Canadian hockey only five university teams had captured Dominion honors. Roxborough stressed that Canadian universities had become easy prey for United States colleges in both hockey and lacrosse. Furthermore, Canadian college rowers had slipped badly since 1924, and in track and field not one member of the 1928 or 1932 Canadian Olympic track and field team had earned his or her position as a university competitor in Canada. It was significant that, on both occasions the Walters brothers, King, Pickard, Piling, Edwards, Wilson, Ravensdale, McNaughton, and Hester were all native sons who made the Canadian team while registered as students in American universities.[277]

Roxborough was certainly correct in stating that Canadian universities' victories at the national senior level were becoming less plentiful. In fact, the only major accomplishment at the national level of a Canadian university after his article in 1933 until 1939 was the University of British Columbia's capturing of the Dominion basketball title in 1937 when they defeated the Windsor Fords twenty-three to twenty in the fourth game of a five game series.[278] Roxborough had ignored the fact that with the development of "shamateur" sport in the 1920's the calibre of senior "amateur" football and hockey had risen to a standard that Canadian universities could no longer match while operating on limited athletic budgets. Thus it was not so much that there was a decadence of college sport, but rather that the calibre of pseudo-amateur football and hockey improved. As for track and field, the Canadian climate, except in British Columbia, was unsuitable for winter training; there were very few indoor track and field facilities available; and the college session terminated before the peak of the track and field season. Such was also the case with rowing. The lack of university students' enthusiasm for lacrosse coincided with a general Canadian apathy towards the sport after World War I.[279] The upsurge of the new version of the game, "boxla", in the 1930's probably was not felt in the colleges because the arenas were being used for hockey in the winter, and when the ice was cleared in the spring, exams were upon the students.

Roxborough continued on to criticize the universities for their general apathy towards the value of games in a true educational system. He emphasized that not even half the undergraduates played games and cited the example of the University of Toronto where only 36 per cent of the male students had participated in games in 1931. In conclusion he stated:

> Realizing these sport values, why is organized play just "tagged on" to the programme of Canadian universities? Surely any course that demands courage, self-control, team play, sacrifice, concentration, loyalty, physical fitness, the ability to accept defeat without remorse or attain victory without undue elation, should be readily acceptable to an ideal educational system.
>
> If these benefits are to be fully obtained, then educators must scrap the notion that sport is just a sideshow, something to be tolerated but not encouraged, a condition permissible only because it pays its own way. Instead, the department of physical education must rank with that of physics, economics, science. This department should deal with student health, physical instruction, intramural and intercollegiate athletics. Coaches should be employed on a full time basis and be recognized faculty members.[280]

Here Roxborough's criticisms seemed to be valid, for in the latter half of the 1930's there was a move towards creating physical education departments with full-time staff who coached, organized intramurals, and offered instruction to the students in various activities.

At the University of British Columbia in 1934 the students asked for the appointment by the University of an instructor "...to give free physical training to students so desiring". The request was honoured in January of 1936 when "Maury" Van Vliet and Gertrude Moore were appointed instructors, respectively, of the Men's and the Women's Division of Physical Education. An experimental, voluntary program was presented in the first year in which 172 men and 300 women registered, and a considerable stimulus was given to intramural sports. In 1936-37 the numbers rose to 232 men and 404 women. Classes were held in basketball, volleyball, tumbling, corrective exercises, golf, archery, folk-dancing, and badminton. Special attention was given to the training of students for teaching physical education in the high schools. Such activity naturally resulted in a demand for the development of the status and facilities of Physical Education.[281] In 1939 Van Vliet made a bid to have physical education made compulsory for first-year students:

> Maury Van Vliet, varsity athletic professor, is definitely of the sports for sports sake "school".
>
> Snatching time between coaching assignments, he is working with a committee that hopes to have physical education made compulsory for first-year students. He has the figures to prove that such a move would not be very costly. The benefits to be garnered are, of course, unlimited. Van Vliet is confident compulsory physical education will become an actuality within a year.[282]

A similar trend towards the association of athletics and physical education was noted in Eastern Ontario. At the University of Toronto Warren Stevens' appointment as athletic director in 1932 caused "...considerable verbal and literary argument".[283] Dissenters asserted that Canadian universities already overemphasized sport; that the creation of the office of athletic director gave to mere play a recognition that was out of place in educational institutions; that the increased employment of well-paid sport instructors was a step toward the evils of United States college sport which was said to permit the entrance of good players, and excessive salaries to coaches.[284] Nevertheless, by 1940 the efforts of Warren Stevens along with those of Miss Florence Somers, the director of the Margaret Eaton School of Physical Education for Women, and Dr. E. Stanley Ryerson were rewarded through the creation of a course in physical education--the first degree program in physical education in Canada.[285] This close relationship between athletics and physical education started to give sport a new-found prestige in the university setting.

Although university athletics did not live up to the expectations of Henry Roxborough, one should recognize that Canadian universities did make significant contributions to the development of sport in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's. In the early twenties college football and hockey teams were prominent in national senior championships, and even though the standard of senior competition rose above that of the universities by the end of the decade, college teams continued to play in city and regional leagues as well as in their own intercollegiate conferences. Consequently, local teams were given an opportunity to utilize the universities' athletic facilities. Graduating university athletes often maintained their connection with sport and provided leadership in their communities either through organizing or coaching. Harry Batstone and "Pep" Leadly, both football stars at Queen's in the early twenties, were two such athletes who became coaches after graduating--Batstone with Queen's and Leadly with the Hamilton Union team.[286] Other students were exposed to different sports through intramurals, and with the development of physical education departments in the 1930's such as the one at the University of British Columbia where free instruction in sports was provided, more and more students were graduating with some basic knowledge of sports in which they could continue to remain active.

Such was also the case in the primary and secondary schools where a games approach to physical education was replacing the traditional military drill. Interscholastic sport for high schools came into vogue during the 1920's and these leagues proved to be training grounds for intermediate, senior, and college teams. In the primary schools the progressive education movement was influential in the implementation of the "enterprise" into new curricula that appeared after 1935. Whether or not the growth of interscholastic athletics and the development of physical education programs at universities could be attributed to the progressive education movement is difficult to determine, but this concern for the physical well-being of the student certainly harmonized with the principles of progressive education.

The Depression

"The era of the 1930's was born in disaster, lived in turmoil and expired in a whimper":[287]

> It was a decade that destroyed men's faith in themselves, mocked their talents and skills, blighted their initiative, and subverted their dedication to the cultivation of their land. It shattered the morale of our inland empire, replaced a whole people's proud search for success with a dispirited search for security.[288]

The severity of the depression varied from region to region in Canada, but its devastating impact was felt in all parts of the country. Such an all-encompassing social and economic trauma could not help but affect the development of sport in Canada.

An examination of the progress of professional sport during the 1930's reveals that the depression played both a positive and a negative role. About the effect of the depression upon professional sport, Ted Reeves commented, "...sport was the last business to really suffer from the world-wide slump".[289] He felt that as long as people had a few extra quarters they seemed to be willing to spend them on a game that might help them to forget their troubles for a pleasant hour or so.

Reeves' theory was substantiated by the fact that until the end of the 1932 season professional hockey flourished in the N.H.L. The Rangers, Maple Leafs, Bruins, Maroons, and Canadiens played before packed houses, and star performers were paid from $8,000 to $10,000 for the season's skating.[290] In 1933 Ted Reeves reported that the depression had finally hit the N.H.L.:

> This year there is a salary limit of seventy-five hundred dollars in the N.H.L., and, while that is enough to buy the old potroast, it is doubtful if any but the most spectacular players will get anywhere near that figure when the next contracts are drawn up. The attendance has fallen off more than somewhat in such hot hockey centres as Montreal and Toronto, the prices of tickets have been slashed in New York, while the Detroit club is having a hard time to keep the wolf away from the turnstiles.[291]

The teams based in the large cities were still able to emerge from the worst year of the depression with a profit. But in 1934, after suffering a $60,000 deficit in the previous two seasons the Ottawa Senators became the first Canadian team to withdraw from the N.H.L. during the depression.[292] Then, in 1938 the Montreal Maroons were forced to give up their franchise.[293] Ottawa was too small to support a first-class professional hockey team during the hard times of the depression, and Montreal could not draw enough fans to maintain the operation of two teams. By 1939 there remained only two Canadian teams in the seven-team N.H.L.--the depression had been influential in shifting the top level of Canada's national winter sport across the border.

The depression struck a more devastating blow at the minor professional hockey teams. Writing in The Globe and Mail in 1932, Mike

Rodden painted a dismal picture of the minor league scene:

> These days of stress have embedded the hockey clubs in their meshes, and it may be that some of the minor leagues will find it impossible to finish the campaigns. It is said that only one club, this being Quebec, is making ends meet in the Canadian-American loop, and that the Boston Cubs are losing at the rate of $1,000 a game.
>
> Reports from the International are just as gloomy, and following today's meeting at Buffalo it is likely that most of the players will be asked to accept reduced salaries, and the clubs will be forced to adhere strictly to the eleven-player-a-team rule.[294]

Rather than joining the ranks of the unemployed or those on relief, hockey players in the minor leagues generally accepted the "starvation wages" offered to them by the floundering hockey clubs.

As minor league teams ceased operation during the 1930's[295] a surplus of professional hockey players who were in a state of limbo was created. They were unemployed in the professional ranks and yet were not permitted to return to play for amateur or "shamateur" teams because the iron-clad amateur rule "once a pro always a pro" still held.[296] In 1933 the C.A.H.A. did bend the rules slightly by allowing amateur hockey players to try out for professinal teams and still retain their amateur status provided that they did not sign a contract.[297] This did not benefit those minor league players who were already out of work. As a result of the existing situation whereby there was a superfluity of good players on call to the professional clubs the calibre of amateur hockey rose, for good players were once again reluctant to sacrifice their amateur status especially when they often were receiving money "under the table" for their efforts in the amateur ranks.[298]

At the gate, minor league professional baseball in Canada suffered a fate similar to that of minor league hockey. By 1932 both Montreal and Toronto of the International League were experiencing financial problems. The Montreal Royals which had been revived in 1928 by a financial syndicate met with initial success. Unfortunately the depression came on too soon to allow this new effort a fair chance. The team kept operating under the worst kind of conditions until 1932 when there was a financial crisis.[299] This time a local group stepped in and saved the situation by buying the franchise exclusive of the stadium, which it rented on a pay-as-you-play basis.

In 1932 it appeared that the Toronto Leafs were nearing the end of the baseball trail:

> Is organized baseball doomed in Toronto? It looks that way. Yesterday the owners of the local International League club failed to pay the city taxes which had accumulated for four years, and it was immediately announced that Maple Leaf Stadium will be sold to the highest bidder early in February.[300]

Although the Leafs managed to avoid losing their franchise they continued to experience financial difficulties and in 1937 had to borrow $35,000 to keep functioning.[301] Part of the Leafs' problem centred around their reluctance to reduce admission prices. In a letter to the editor in The Globe and Mail in 1933 a disturbed baseball fan complained about the exorbitant prices during an era of depression:

> Baseball fans--and Toronto is full of them--are forced to take themselves to the various city parks, where they see mighty good baseball for five, ten, twenty-five cents, as they can afford, and if, instead of holding us up at fifty cents and a dollar twenty-five admission, they would make a general admission of twenty-five cents and fifty cents they would find the attendance running up 15,000 to 20,000 every game. And is not 15,000 at fifty cents more profitable than 400, 700, and such numbers at eighty cents and a dollar twenty-five?[302]

In contrast to baseball and hockey professional wrestling thrived during the depression:

> While other sports suffer, owing to lack of financial support, professional heavyweight wrestling continues to be highly successful,

> and no abatement in interest has been noted. In fact, if anything, wrestling is enjoying an increase in popularity and particularly in the smaller centres. Many reasons have been advanced for this condition, but the most important is that the grapplers furnish plenty of action even if some of it is hippodroming.[303]

Roxborough also attributed professional wrestling's prosperity to excellent showmanship. Promoters carefully matched opponents and added traces of national rivalries to spark further interest.[304] Also, reductions in admission charges were made to keep in tune with the difficult times.[305] Lewis Brown suggested that sports like wrestling provided a safety valve through which fans could "let off steam".[306] Possibly it was in the wrestling arena that the victims of the depression could forget their plight temporarily and displace their frustrations into the drama that unfolded in the ring.

Another professional sport, six-day cycling, gained popularity in Canada's three largest cities (Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver) during the depression. The cyclists also put on a good show for the fans, saving the exciting jamming sessions for afternoons and evenings when large crowds were on hand.[307] As in wrestling, international flavour was added with peddlers from Europe and North America competing, and cyclists were paired together by the promoters in combinations that were likely to produce thrilling races.[308] The showmanship characteristic of both wrestling and six-day bicycle racing seemed to appeal to the depression-weary sports fan.

Although professional team sports like hockey and baseball also provided first class entertainment they differed from cycling and wrestling in some basic ways. The team sports had higher expenses simply because of the greater number of participants involved, and they therefore depended upon consistent support from fans throughout a long season, whereas promoters of wrestling and cycling could gauge the enthusiasm of crowds and could stage events just frequently enough to whet their appetites for more. Both professional wrestling and cycling were somewhat of a novelty receiving very little competition from the amateur ranks for spectators. On the other hand, amateur hockey and baseball were both extremely popular throughout Canada, and consequently many fans who could not afford to attend the professional games supported the "amateurs".

From the previous discussion it can be seen that some professional sports such as wrestling and cycling seemed to thrive upon conditions created by the depression whereas others like hockey and baseball suffered. In spite of the financial setbacks at the "big business" level of some professional sports the general trend towards professionalism continued with the growth of "shamateurism" during the depression.

In fact, judging from the following warning given by secretary John Leslie to the A.A.U. of C. at the annual meeting in 1931, "shamateur" sport had gained momentum as a result of the depression:

> Owing to the serious economic depression at present being experienced in Canada and to the many insidious influences brought to bear on our athletes, many of them have gone over to commercialized or professional sport and, in my opinion, this situation, which is to be deplored, should be combated by every means at our disposal.[309]

During times of unemployment men were forced to utilize whatever skills they possessed in order to make a living, and many athletes used their particular talents for pecuniary reward.[310]

The question of unemployment was paramount in the minds of many Canadians, and football players were no exception. Cosentino revealed that during the depression, centres like Sarnia which had a football team sponsored by an oil company suddenly found themselves with an abundance of talent. Bert Gibb would not attend Hamilton Tiger practices until that club bought him a new bicycle tire while another player would not play until the Hamilton club filled his cellar with coal.[311] Unemployed American football players jumped at the opportunity to play for a Canadian team provided that they were rewarded for their efforts. In 1935 Joe Ryan, the Winnipeg general manager, acquired the services of nine American football players for $7,500. These players included Fritz Hanson, Bob Fritz, Bud Marquardt, Joe Perpich, Bert Oja, Herb Peschel, Nick Pagones, Russ Rebholz and Greg Kabat:[312]

> This was quite an array of talent to have assembled for so modest an investment, but those were the depression days of the "dirty thirties", when a job was more important than money, and even college graduates had to eat.[313]

With the increase of American imports made possible by their low price tags during the depression Canadian football rapidly became professional during the 1930's even though it continued to function under the guise of amateurism.

Similar examples of "shamateurism" in hockey such as the Valleyfield Braves going on strike during the 1939 Allan Cup play-offs[314] have already been cited.[315] Other sports such as baseball and lacrosse were also subject to the "insidious influence" of professionalism. By the end of the 1930's the severe financial conditions of the depression had been a significant factor in the establishment of pseudo-amateur sport in Canada.

During the depression when unemployment rates were as high as 23 per cent,[316] Canadians had an abundance of leisure time. Sport became a favourite pastime for both the spectator and the participant. After suffering from a drop in attendance at the Canadian

National Exhibition in the first year of the depression, officials recognized the value of sport as a drawing card:

> It is perhaps significant that in the year of depression the sports program at the C.N.E. is a more lengthy one than ever before. While the C.N.E. officials have not come forward with a statement to the effect that they are looking to sports more than ever to help keep the attendance up to par, it may be deduced that such is the case, in which event the policy has to date proven successful. With four swims, two for professionals and two for amateurs; three track meets, that of the Ontario Athletic Commission, the junior meet of last Saturday and the international invitational meet of next Saturday, girls' softball and motor boat, sculling and sailing races all scheduled, the attention given to sport at the C.N.E. this year may be taken as quite a tribute to athletics in general.[317]

Although some professional sports failed to draw enough fans to prosper, amateur and "shamateur" sport attracted large crowds even when the unemployemnt and poverty of the depression was overbearing. On August 15, 1938, The Chronicle Herald reported the desperate plight of close to 5,000 Stellarton residents who were striving to obtain assistance from the nearby towns so that they might have food over the week-end. There were over 300 totally unemployed men in Stellarton and 1,200 miners who received pay envelopes for only one shift a week.[318] In spite of the deplorable situation, on September 5th of the same year Stellarton's softball team played before 4,000 spectators, the largest crowd of the season.[319]

The depression certainly did not dull Canadians' enthusiasm for sport. When the Winnipeg football team brought the Grey Cup to the West for the first time in 1935 the citizens of that city went "wild over the win":

> Depression, unemployment, its railway problem, the wheat problem, all the host of troubles sent to Winnipeggers were just so much nonsense to the citizens Saturday night as they set about the serious business of celebrating the glorious victory of their championship rugby team.

> The game was over not a second when the first tidal wave of exulting enthusiasm engulfed the city. On it rolled, touching, it seemed everyone from panhandler to professor, from society dowager to scrubwoman.[320]

Earlier in 1935 in Halifax tremendous interest was aroused in the Allan Cup series staged between the Halifax Wolverines and Port Arthur. Weeks before the games, officials of the Halifax Forum were besieged by ardent fans writing early to be assured of seats.

Strange as it may seem, "the sport of kings", horse racing, retained its popularity during the depression and proved to be financially successful:

> There is something about horse racing that appeals to almost everybody, not only those who are fond of racing, but even to the average person they can find something most exhilarating in seeing the noble equines battling to reach the wire in keen home stretch drives. Horse racing has gone on from the days of ancient history, and no matter what happened in the world--wars, earthquakes, racing has lived through it all. Everybody does not go to the races to bet, as some people think, but simply for the love of the sport.[321]

In 1933, the worst year of the depression, it was reported that in Summerside, Prince Edward Island, over 3,000 people, the largest attendance in 10 years, saw the Dominion Day horse races.[322] The Mont-Royal race track in Montreal had approximately 9,000 people attend the last race day in 1933, and that week records were set in both attendance and betting. More than 59,000 people visited the track during the seven day meet, and the betting had increased by $50,000 over the corresponding session of the previous year.[323] Whittier and Polo Parks in Winnipeg drew daily crowds in the range of 8,000 people during the depression.[324] Most surprising of all was the fact that in 1932 Regina also hosted a successful race meet. Track officials had been fearful as to how things would turn out because there had been no crops for three years and nobody appeared to possess a nickel. As a precaution they cut the number of races from seven to six for the first day for fear that the percentage would not recoup them for the purses. Business was good, and meet officials replaced the seventh race after the first day of racing. The Regina meet prospered "...with a handle that was only just 9 3/4 per cent to 10 per cent less than in 1930".[325] Obviously man's gambling instincts could not even be suppressed by the economic hardships of the depression.

Not only did sport provide entertainment for the idle spectator, but also it served as a form of recreation for the participant. Many of the unemployed occupied their leisure time playing impromptu games such as the following school-yard baseball game in Winnipeg vividly described by James Gray in The Winter Years:

> It was mid-afternoon in August 1932 when one of the supervisors at the Lord Selkirk school-yard playground strode into the pitcher's box, blew her whistle loudly, and made a short speech.
>
> "If this happens again," she screamed at us, "I'm going to call the police! This playground is for children! If you men want to play baseball you will have to do it after supper, because I won't have you big louts spoiling the fun for the children on these grounds. Now get off this playground and stay off or I am going to call the police!"
>
> As she angrily gathered up the balls and bats and waited for the school-yard to clear, it was apparent that her complaint was justifed. There had been at least three baseball games going on, all composed of grown men whiling away a pleasant afternoon. The children were hived off in corners, or trying to dodge the hard-hit grounders from the adult games. One boy had zigged when he should have zagged and had run crying to the supervisor with a bruised head. The episode was a perfect answer to the question that was forever being asked: What do you do with your time on relief? We did anything and everything that came along.[326]

Gray also pointed out that any kind of home the unemployed could afford offered little attraction for even the most confirmed home-body. In most cases, home was a single room in a rooming-house, in which a family of three or four was expected to eat, sleep, and be happy. Happiness, for most, was achieved by spending as little time there as possible.[327] Playing sports, therefore, was one of the major ways that those on relief occupied their time.

The single men who were isolated at work camps also took the monotony out of life by playing sports. The workers at Camp Seven at Lac Seul in Manitoba actually built their own curling rocks so that they could play their favourite winter game.[328] A Winnipeg Free Press reporter stated that at Camp One at Hudson in Northwestern Ontario he watched a group of men flooding a hockey rink, and he was informed that there were hockey rinks at many of the camps.[329] In the summer months the single young men working at the construction camps in the Kenora section of the projected trans-Canada highway were to be seen playing softball during their spare time.[330]

Provincial governments recognized the value of sport in occupying the leisure time of the unemployed, and British Columbia with its provincial-recreation program was the first to institute a goverment supported program in 1933:

> In B.C. this vast programme of "harmony and beauty" (for the drill has nothing of the jerkiness of army drill) is a child of the depression. As hard times seemed to seize our citizens by the throat and choke their aspirations in hopelessness Hon. George Weir, in November three years ago (1933) announced B.C.'s first physical education scheme. He would start in our four largest coast cities to rebuild health and vigor into our young people.[331]

The success of the program in British Columbia and its spread into other provinces of Canada have already been discussed.[332] It is sufficient here to state, once again, that sport occupied a significant proportion of the leisure time of the unemployed during the depression.

The playing of games by the men on relief, the sports in the work camps and the "pro-rec" movement were all in keeping with the trend noted in the Maritimes of "getting into the game" rather than just being a spectator.[333] Increased participation in activities such as softball, badminton, hockey, curling, golf, skiing, and bowling also indicated that Canadians became more active in sport during the depression years.

The type of sports played depended largely upon the size of the person's pocket book. The unemployed and farmers tended to choose games like baseball, softball, curling, hockey, rugger, and soccer--sports that required a minimum of expense. Those who could afford to do so gravitated towards sports such as tennis, golf, badminton, sailing, and skiing while usually only the wealthy could afford to participate in sports like yachting and polo.

During the depression sport served other useful functions besides providing entertainment and recreation for the unemployed. Charity benefit games like the one described in the following passage were staged to earn funds to aid the needy:

> There was enjoyment for all at Maple Leaf Gardens on Saturday afternoon, when Conny Smythe's Stanley Cup holders defeated four high-class amateur senior teams. A crowd in the neighbourhood of 13,000 witnessed a stellar program, the first of its kind in Toronto hockey history, and one that will be long remembered.
>
> The fans, who donated clothing in aid of the needy in order to gain admittance, fairly packed the Gardens, and the entertainment was thoroughly enjoyed by one and all. As an added attraction to the hockey offerings, fancy skaters displayed their wares during the first two intermissions, and then at the final rest session a comedy act was provided.[334]

As well, sport either directly or indirectly created employment opportunities for numerous Canadians. Sports facilities like the Maple Leaf Gardens in Toronto were built during the depression, hence creating jobs for those on relief. The unemployed in Toronto in 1931 were only too glad to receive $7.40 a week for working on the Gardens as a relief project.[335] In Sydney, Nova Scotia, local residents were employed to construct a $60,000 arena with artificial ice,[336] hence temporarily alleviating the unemployment problem there.

Other chances for employment were also offered through sport. As can be seen in the following article from The Globe and Mail in 1935 caddies were able to earn money for their families:

> An army of caddies from homes in Toronto's suburbs which have felt the effects of the depression welcomed the advent of the golfing season on Saturday, because it gave them their first opportunity to earn a part of a wage fund which, it was estimated yesterday, would amount to $10,000 before the season terminated in October.
>
> The wage fund will be composed of fees given by thousands of golfers to the lads who carry their bags during the season. As the season progresses the earnings of the well-behaved and industrious boy increase, and enable him to contribute toward the maintenance of the home.
>
> Members of the Toronto Golf Club, one of the oldest organizations on the continent, spent, it was stated yesterday, more than $10,000 in wages to caddies last year, and along with their associates of the Lakeview and Mississauga Clubs contributed $25,800 to the hard-hit homes in Lake Shore municipalities.[337]

In the winter, Toronto Club members visited the homes of caddies to make certain that they were well clothed and took a general interest in their welfare. During the golf season many golfers, realizing conditions existing in suburban municipalities, gave work to boys more regularly than when times were more prosperous, thus contributing to the relief of distress.[338]

Sport was certainly beneficial to Canadian society during the depression--it created employment opportunities both directly and indirectly; it often supported charity; and it provided recreation and entertainment for depression-weary Canadians. In addition sport seemed to act as a safety valve through which Canadians could release their many frustrations accentuated by the depression. Just as the wrestling, hockey, football, and horse-racing fan could discharge his pent-up emotions in the arena, at the stadium, or the race track, so too could the West and the Maritimes express their resentment towards Ontario in a socially-acceptable manner.

Although sport suffered some setbacks during the depression it became even further embedded into the Canadian way of life. During the "...decade that destroyed men's faith in themselves, mocked their talents and skills, blighted their initiative, and subverted their dedication to the cultivation of their land,"[339] sport sparked a glimmer of hope.

Commencement of World War II

On September 10, 1939, Canada declared war on Germany, and Canadians began to mobilize for their war effort with over 58,000 volunteers being taken into the army in the first month.[340] The war was to have profound effects upon sport in Canada, but the immediate reaction was for sports organizations to declare their intentions to continue operation. Lewis Brown stated that senior Canadian football was proceeding as scheduled:

> War or no war, sport in general is to "carry on" and football will be doing its best to entertain the thousands of soon-to-be-actors on the Western Front and, what is more important, the multitudes of those who must remain at home.341

The N.H.L. also announced that it would continue to function as always:

> Les gouverneurs de la Ligue de Hockey Nationale se sont réunis hier en cette ville pour tenir leur assemblée semi-annuelle et l'on a décidé de continuer les opérations de la ligue professionelle l'hiver prochain malgré la crise causée par la guerre européene.

> Frank Calder, de Montréal, président de la ligue, a declaré que quelques joueurs s'étaient enrôlés dans l'armée Canadienne, mais que la politique de la ligue serait de continuer à opérer indéfiniment.
>
> Rout indique que la conscription ne sera pas déclarée au Canada immédiatement, déclara Calder. Même si cette chose suvient, Calder a ajouté que la ligue tenterait d'opérer quand même avec le meilleur matériel qu'elle pourrait trouver.[342]

Likewise the C.A.H.A. asserted that it would operate its hockey schedules and Memorial Cup and Allan Cup playdowns as usual in the winter of 1939. The president of the C.A.H.A., Dr. W. G. Hardy of Edmonton, stated that the decision was in accordance with the expressed desire of the Canadian Government that sports continue as usual to maintain morale and spirit during war time.[343] In order to comply with the government's request the C.A.H.A. drew up special war time regulations. The residence rule was suspended for all players engaged in military service of any kind, and players could compete for more than one team in the same season if they were moved by the military authorities during the playing season. Another change in regulations provided that any army teams which were organized in their respective military districts could be entered as a unit in the Allan Cup playdowns through the branch playdown series. Furthermore, any professional player who went on military service was, with the consent of the N.H.L. to be allowed to play with or against amateur hockey players.[344]

There were some sports events and programs that were cancelled with the outbreak of war. In the Maritimes, "...owing to the emergency of war which makes demands upon the energies of all..." authorities of Dalhousie University deemed it their duty to cancel the Maritime Provinces' interscholastic track and field meet.[345] Upon the Prairies, the University of Manitoba decided to discard intercollegiate competition in sport for the duration of the war because sufficient financial support could not be guaranteed by the students' union.[346] Also, when war was declared most of the golf tournaments which were still to be played in the waning days of the season were not staged.[347] However, these cancellations were in the minority, and the general trend was for sport to function as usual.

Although there was a definite movement towards the creation of military teams and leagues during the first year of World War II[348] the pattern of sport did not divert much from normal. About this fact, Lewis Brown made the following comments:

> As Canada's first outdoor sports season since war was declared is ushered in, it must be encouraging to those who are responsible for the maintenance of the nation's morale and general health that there is to be little if any abatement in the recreation activities of the populace at large. There is no need to point out that this will prove of inestimable value to all and sundry in the fearsome days which are to come, as casualty lists and rumors of the battle cause nerves to be drawn taut as the gigantic struggle continues.
>
> Tradition has it that Britain wins its battles with the cohorts who knew the playing fields of Eton, but while this will not apply to any great extent to the lads from this Dominion, who will be giving their all for the Empire, there is no question that Canada's soldiers will be fortified by much the same spirit that is fundamental in British fairplay. Sport is such an integral part of all life in this country that it would have been a short sighted policy on the part of the powers-that-be to curtail it in any way, short of the point where it was interfering vitally with the successful conduct of the war.
>
> Therefore it is of paramount importance that, unlike in the Great War of twenty-five years ago, there will be but few inserts in the annual records, "No championship because of the War." Of even greater significance will be the fact that those who feel it is part of the job to keep fit will not have to seek the byways, or run the gauntlet of frowning glances, as they travel to and from the fields of recreation, or disport themselves upon the green swards of their native heath. Primarily, I am thinking of the golfer, who, with his club-filled bag, received many a scornful look during the days of the 1914-18 struggle if he succeeded in overcoming his temerity of public opinion, particularly if he appeared to be of military age, and hied himself out to the links.
>
> To date (June, 1940) the only national golf organization to cancel its annual competitions is the Canadian Ladies' Golf Union but in doing so it stresses the fact that while it feels it incompatible with present conditions to undertake championships which call for at least a week's play, it hopes that its affiliated groups such as the

> provincial and sectional governing bodies will do everything they can to complete their usual tournaments and to encourage play at the various clubs within their jurisdiction.[349]

Realizing the importance of keeping Canadians' morale high during war time the Federal Government offered encouragement for teams and leagues to remain in operation. On July 5, 1940, the Hon. C. G. Power, Acting Minister of National Defence, wrote to John Bannerman of Calgary, president of the C.R.U. as follows: "There are many advantages to carrying on business as usual which would far outweigh any disadvantages from the elimination of such activities".[350] As a result, officials of the C.R.U. relayed a plea to the various unions affiliated with the parent body urging that there be no curtailment of competitive sport that autumn other than that which would normally accrue out of the drafting into industry or military service of those individuals who ordinarily took part in football.[351]

Similarly, the Federal Government strongly approved of the continuation of the various hockey leagues. In the N.H.L. where 90 per cent of the players were Canadian-born and Canadian residents, President Frank Calder received the blessing of the military authorities and permission to transport the players back and forth across the border during the season provided that all of those eligible for military service had fulfilled their training requirements specified by the national registration for defense training.[352] Through an arrangement between the Foreign Exchange Board and the N.H.L., the players received only a portion of their weekly stipends for personal expenses, and the remainder was turned over to an authorized Canadian foreign exchange dealer. The unused portion of the salaries was paid into each player's Canadian bank account and credited to him in Canadian dollars plus the prevailing rate of exchange. Similar arrangements were made in the case of amateurs who earned salaries in U.S. dollars. In a letter to the players of the N.H.L. Frank Calder explained the reasoning behind this policy:

> As an employee of an American hockey club receiving payment for your services in United States dollars, you are contributing materially to the war effort of Canada provided you bring back to Canada all the American dollars you earn in excess of the amount required for your actual living expenses. It is essential that you bring your earnings back in the form of United States dollars. If you purchase Canadian dollars in the United States you are not helping Canada; you are helping a non-resident to get his capital out of the country.[353]

It was estimated that in the 1940-41 hockey season Canadians playing professional hockey for U.S. clubs would make available $500,000 in foreign exchange.[354]

Evidently there were fringe benefits in promoting sport during war time. But still the main motivation behind the government's support of sport was to keep young Canadians physically fit for war and to maintain the morale of those remaining in Canada by ridding "...their minds of the strain of war news and the constant knowledge that the future of democracy and freedom hung in the balance".[355]

As the intensity of the war progressed, so too did Canada's commitment in supplying both men and materials. Consequently, sport was more profoundly affected after the first year of conflict. In spite of "Chubby" Power's plea to the C.R.U. some teams did drop out of competition in 1940. In the Ontario Rugby Football Union the Montreal Westmounts amalgamated with the Montreal Royals, and the Sarnia Imperials withdrew from the league. The Imperials ceased operation on the plea that many of their players employed in the Imperial Oil Company's plant at Sarnia were working overtime and were needed too much in this war time industry to take time off for practices. There was considerable truth in the above, but underneath there was a subtle consideraton of propriety, for it was hardly likely that the citizens of Sarnia, where they were proud of their English ancestry, would have appreciated the efforts of the Imperials, made up of many recruits from the Michigan side of the border, while their sons were away defending the Empire.[356] The Big Four was disbanded in 1941, and the Eastern Canada Union composed of the Toronto Argos, Ottawa Rough Riders, Montreal Bulldogs, and Toronto Balmy Beach was formed.[357] Out west the Western Conference suspended activities from 1942 to 1946.[358]

Other sports besides football were affected as Canada's war effort increased in magnitude. The Canadian Badminton Championships were abandoned in 1941:

> Reasons for the suspension were given in detail, and hinged on the curtailment of sport due to the war. It was felt that the object of every Canadian is to give full support to Canada's war effort, without distracting influences.
>
> Another important factor was the uncertainty of definite support from the various centres in respect to representative entries both in relation to location and players.
>
> Attendance of title-holders and top-ranking players was all extremely doubtful, due to their connection with the Active Services or other war activities. In addition, financial assistance from the provincial associations for travelling expenses seemed unlikely.
>
> The Rideau Club offered to proceed with the tournament if it had been decided to hold it, but it was questionable as to whether proper billetting accommodations could be obtained in either hotels or private homes in Ottawa, due to large scale war activity.
>
> Finally, there was likely to be a shortage of personnel for organization and committee work, with the pressure of business and war time activities cutting into the normal groups who do this work.[359]

The above passage is indicative of the problems encountered by most sports organizations as Canada became increasingly caught up in total war involvement.

When World War II began in 1939 it seemed that Canada would mainly be called upon as a supply base, to furnish food and raw materials, and also to provide a wide range of industrial products. A division of soldiers was rapidly raised and sent to Britain, the first Canadian contingent sailing towards the close of the year. It was generally believed that Britain and France would win the war against Germany without a heavy use of troops, by means of a blockage that could cut her off from outside supplies and destroy her ability to carry on the struggle.[360] Under these conditions, sport in Canada was able to carry on close to normal.

The situation rapidly changed in 1940. The sudden collapse of France in June, under the lightning German onslaught, brought Italy into the war on Germany's side and left Britain and her Commonwealth partners standing alone. The shock was tremendous, and Canadians rallied behind Britain with an all-out effort.[361] At this point, although the Federal Government encouraged the continued operation of teams and leagues the pattern of sport in Canada changed drastically.

Summary

For convenience of discussion some of the trends in the development of sport in Canada from 1921 to 1939 have been examined under the headings of technology, urbanization, religion, education, the depression, and the start of World War II. No pretense is being made that in reality any one factor was solely responsible for a particular trend. Rather, it was the interaction of several factors that produced the pattern of sport that emerged in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's.

Consider the development of professional and "shamateur" sport during this period. Technological advancements played a significant role, for progress in communication systems, especially the radio and the press, created the publicity essential to the success of professional sport. Improvements in facilities and equipment such as artificial ice, floodlighting, and timing devices provided added conveniences and comforts for the spectator and assisted in extending playing seasons so that gate receipts could be increased.

The move towards increasing urbanization acted as a catalyst to "pro" sport. It was in the urban setting where large numbers of fans were congregated and also where technological advancements were first available. As well, commercial sport, which figured prominently in the increase of "shamateurism" was a product of urbanization. The urbanizing process predominated in Eastern Ontario and Southwestern Quebec, and it was from these areas that professional sport as "big business" emerged in the latter 1920's.

Changes in education affected the development of professional sport indirectly. After World War I there was a move away from traditional drill to a games-gymnastics approach in physical education with interscholastic competition becoming an accepted part of high school life during the 1920's just as intercollegiate sport had become established at the university level earlier. Education served to expose more Canadians to games and helped create the interest in sport that was necessary for professionalism to advance.

Religion, by contrast, hindered the progress of professional sport somewhat as a result of the Sunday Observance Laws which prevented contests from being staged on the one day of the week when the greatest number of people were free to watch sport. Furthermore, the Y.M.C.A., which had a religious foundation, generally opposed professional sport and supported the amateur version. The economic conditions of the depression also retarded the progress of some professional sports, especially in the minor leagues. On the other hand, as men desperately sought employment the pseudo-amateur version of professional sport was given impetus by the depression. Also, the idle unemployed sought entertainment, and even if they could not afford to attend professional games they could still cluster about a public radio for the play by play commentary. When World War II commenced in 1939 the Federal Government encouraged professional sport to continue so as not to destroy Canadian morale.

It can be seen that this one trend, the growth of professional sport, was the product of several interacting factors. A similar analysis can be made to examine why indoor sport increased in popularity during the 1920's and 1930's.

As previously mentioned, the severity of Canadian winters in the Prairie Provinces and the inconsistent winter weather of British Columbia, Eastern Ontario, and parts of the Maritimes drove many sports enthusiasts indoors during the winter months. Since the climate of the various regions of Canada remained relatively constant there had to be other factors involved. Obviously the combination of urbanization and technology played a significant role in this trend towards indoor sport, for it was in the urban centres that modern facilities were usually first constructed and that technological advancements were initially utilized.

During the inter-war period there was rapid expansion of urban centres. In these cities bowling alleys, gymnasia for basketball and badminton, and indoor rinks with artificial ice for hockey and curling were usually first constructed. As part of the urbanizing process that was taking place there also was an increase in industrialization. In conjunction with this rapid expansion of industry there was a movement towards industrial or commercial sport. The rise in popularity of the indoor sport, bowling, could be attributed greatly to the increased participation in commercial sport.

Religious and educational institutions also played a prominent role in the trend towards indoor sport. During the economic boom period of the 1920's, churches, Y.M.C.A.'s, schools, and universities increased and expanded their indoor sports facilities. Although this construction of gymnasia tapered off during the depression years these institutions continued to play a leading role in the development of indoor sport, for they also organized competition through leagues and tournaments.

Clearly, the trend towards indoor sport, like the growth of professional sport, was the result of several interconnected factors. Such was also the case with the entire pattern of sport that developed in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Ian F. Jobling, "Sport in Nineteenth Century Canada: The Effects of Technological changes on its Development" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970).

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[3] Winnipeg Free Press, August 11, 1930.

[4] Ibid., May 8, 1937.

[5] G. P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada, Vol. II (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1964), pp. 460-61.

[6] The Globe and Mail, January 5, 1937.

[7] Winnipeg Free Press, April 3, 1939.

[8] Ibid., March 9, 1935.

[9] The Globe and Mail, November 21, 1927.

[10] Telephone interview with Percy Williams in Vancouver, May 15, 1970.

[11] Rolf Tonning Lund, "A History of Skiing in Canada prior to 1940" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971), p. 344.

[12] K. W. Studnicki-Gizebert, "Transport," in The Canadians 1867-1967, ed. by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1962), p. 508.

[13] Vancouver Sun, March 3, 1931.

[14] Studnicki-Gizbert, op. cit., p. 508.

[15] H. H. Roxborough, "Golf Incorporated," Maclean's, June 1, 1930, p. 42.

[16] Le Devoir, May 14, 1934.

[17] The Globe and Mail, April 7, 1931.

[18] Ibid., March 8, 1935.

[19] The Chronicle Herald, August 2, 1935.

[20] J. Lewis Brown, "Anchors Aweigh," National Home Monthly, May, 1935, p. 27.

[21] Le Devoir, August 7, 1939.

[22] The Chronicle Herald, June 29, 1936.

[23] Vancouver Sun, July 31, 1933.

[24] The Chronicle Herald, February 21, 1933.

[25] Winnipeg Free Press, April 13, 1929.

[26] H. H. Roxborough, "He Shoots, He Scores!" Maclean's, December 15, 1937, p. 14; hereafter referred to as "He Shoots, He Scores!".

[27] Vancouver Sun, December 31, 1932.

[28] The Dryden Observer, June 10, 1971.

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[30] Vancouver Sun, May 2, 1936.

[31] Braithwaite, The Mountie's Car, p. 38.

[32] Winnipeg Free Press, August 31, 1937.

[33] Wilfred Kesterton and John S. Moir, "Communications," in The Canadians 1867-1967, ed. by J. M. S. Careless and R. Craig Brown (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), p. 531.

[34] J. V. M. Braithwaite, Never Sleep Three in a Bed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969), pp. 111-12.

[35] Winnipeg Free Press, October 4, 1926.

[36] Roxborough, "He Shoots, He Scores!" p. 40, 47.

[37] H. H. Roxborough, "Ins and Outs of Sport," Maclean's, June 1, 1933, p. 40; hereafter referred to as "Ins and Outs of Sport".

[38] Archie Wills, "Patrick of the Puck," Maclean's, April 1, 1928, p. 12.

[39] The Province, March 3, 1934.

[40] Winnipeg Free Press, November 14, 1931.

[41] The Globe and Mail, November 18, 1922.

[42] Ibid., September 20, 1926.

[43] Ibid., February 23, 1926.

[44] Ibid., June 25, 1925.

[45] Ibid., November 13, 1931.

[46] Ibid., November 16, 1931.

[47] The Chronicle Herald, January 26, 1935.

[48] Ibid., December 31, 1932.

[49] Ibid., February 1, 1932.

[50] Ibid., November 29, 1937.

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[52] Cosentino, "A History of Canadian Football, 1909-1968," p. 114.

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[83] Ralph Allen, *op. cit.*, p. 24.

[84] Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Canada Year Book, 1946*, p. 112.

[85] Wills, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

[86] *Ibid.*

[87] *Vancouver Sun*, March 15, 1921.

[88] Wills, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

[89] *The Globe and Mail.*, March 8, 1926.

[90] Wills, *op. cit.*, p. 64.

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[92] *Vancouver Sun*, November 4, 1929.

[93] *Ibid.*, May 15, 1933.

[94] Frederick B. Edwards, "High Hat Hockey," *Maclean's*, December 15, 1927, p. 6; hereafter referred to as "High Hat Hockey".

[95] Ted Reeves, "Hockey's Frozen Assets," National Home Monthly, February, 1933, p. 16; hereafter referred to as "Hockey's Frozen Assets".

[96] Brown, "Salute to Winter Sport," p. 43.

[97] Edwards, "High Hat Hockey," p. 6.

[98] Reeves, "Hockey's Frozen Assets," p. 16.

[99] Frederick Edwards, "Is Pro-Hockey a Career?" Maclean's, June 1, 1928, p. 10.

[100] The Globe and Mail, October 30, 1930.

[101] Edwards, "High Hat Hockey," p. 53.

[102] The Globe and Mail, April 5, 1929.

[103] Reeves, "Hockey's Frozen Assets," p. 16.

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CHAPTER V

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONSHIPS

World Interaction

> During the postwar years the road of Canadian autonomy rose quickly from the valley of colonialism. The separate, though still subordinate, signature of the Peace Treaty--against the vigorous protests, not now of London, but of the President of the United States; Canadian insistence on the abrogation of the Anglo-Japanese Alliance; the refusal to support Lloyd George in his threatened war against the Turks in 1922; the independent signature of the Halibut Treaty with the U.S.A. in 1923; the refusal to be bound by the Locarno agreements; the establishment of a Canadian diplomatic service in 1927-28; the Balfour Declaration of 1926 and its implication in the Statute of Westminster in 1931; the change in the Coronation Oath in 1936; the independent and first declaration of war against Japan in 1941 were all mileposts of progress in Canadian nationalism.[1]

In 1919 Canadians turned away from Europe, leaving behind their dead, and adopted an isolationist policy. Isolationism was the product of geography and was shaped by distrust, a distrust born of the great war and confirmed at the council tables of Paris. Canada saw itself as "...a fire-proof house, far from inflammable materials".[2] Mackenzie King's campaign to complete Canadian nationhood was in part an effort to avoid the commitments resulting from being bound by British foreign policy. It was not so much a constructive effort as an attempt to withdraw more into isolation. Although the rights of nationhood were a major achievement for Canada, it was the right to say "no" that it made most use of in foreign affairs. Canada strongly objected to the plan for collective security outlined in Article X of the League of Nations' Covenant in 1919.[3] Early in 1922 the Canadian government refused to contribute funds in the form of an interest-free loan for the relief of famine in Russia, and turned down a Soviet request for credit to buy Canadian wheat. In 1924 it ignored an appeal to contribute to the relief of famine in Albania. In 1925 it refused the invitation to sign the Geneva Protocol, and it was largely at Canada's insistence that an article was inserted in the text of the Locarno Agreement specifically exempting the Dominions from their provisions.[4]

The "Ridell incident" of November, 1935, further demonstrated Canada's isolationist non-commital policy. At an emergency meeting of the League of Nations in Geneva, W. A. Riddell, the Canadian Permanent Delegate at Geneva proposed on his own initiative the imposition of oil sanctions against Italy for its invasion of Ethiopia. The Canadian government immediately repudiated Riddell's proposal declaring that Riddell had not spoken on its behalf.[5]

Canada, on the whole, approved of the British policy of appeasement of Hitler, largely because this too seemed a way of avoiding trouble and commitments.[6] It was not until the last few years before World War II that Canada's policy of no commitments began to change, and there was a growing feeling of Canada's responsibility in the Commonwealth and the world.[7]

In contrast to Canada's isolationist policy whereby it wished to avoid political commitments outside of North America, its involvement in international sport heightened during the 1920's and 1930's. Canada actively participated in both summer and winter Olympic Games sending relatively large contingents. Writing in Maclean's Magazine in 1928, Henry Roxborough stated that since 1908 no country in proportion to resources and population had made a greater contribution to the Olympics than had

Canada. Twenty years before, 79 athletes went to London; 36 followed to Stockholm; 56 visited Antwerp; 86 competed at Paris; and a similar number sailed for Amsterdam. Roxborough pointed out that a total of 350 competitors had represented Canada in 6 Olympic years.[8] In 1932 Canada sent its largest contingent of the 2 decades to the Olympics in Los Angeles--127 athletes.[9]

At the annual meeting of the A.A.U. of C. in 1929, in the report of the Canadian Olympic Committee, M. M. Robinson spoke out for greater international recognition of Canada's contribution to the Olympic games:

> Then again the time has come for Canada to insist upon adequate representation on all international councils, for complete consideration by the international officials of our contentions and for a realization on the part of all that the day has come when "European thought" will not entirely prevail. Canada is a large nation and we should be prepared to make others realise that fact and to insist upon equal footing in all deliberations with other nations which have not and never will make the same contribution to the success of the Olympic Games as this country is doing. In this regard may I say that in 1928 Canada made a greater contribution toward the success of the games than any other nation.[10]

Robinson emphasized that in 1928 on a per capita basis Canada had sent more athletes to the Olympics and spent more money than either Britain or the U.S.A. Although Robinson's demand for greater Canadian representation on all Olympic committees seemed to fall upon "deaf ears", Canada did receive the opportunity to play a leadership role in founding the British Empire Games.

Under the guidance of M. M. Robinson, Canada hosted the first British Empire Games in Hamilton in 1930. To assure the attendance of the members of the Empire the Canadian British Empire Games Committee subsidized their travel expenses, spending a total of $30,000.[11] In spite of the hardships of the depression years Canadian teams were also sent to the 1934 and 1938 British Empire Games in London and Sydney, Australia, respectively.

Canadian athletes also entered games of lesser significance such as the Tailteann Games in Ireland[12] or the Pan-Am Games first held in Dallas, Texas, in 1937.[13] Canadians competed in numerous world championship events, a few of which were: the Henley-on-Thames Rowing Regatta, the Davis Cup, the world speed-skating championships, and the world hockey championships.

The success of Canadian Olympic athletes such as Percy Williams, Phil Edwards, "Bobby" Rosenfeld, Ethel Catherwood, Duncan McNaughton, Johnny Loaring, Dave Stockton, Joe Schleimer, and Albert Schneider, to name but a few, focussed greater attention upon this country, for Canada surprised the world by winning five gold, four silver, and seven bronze medals in 1928 and by capturing a total of twenty-three medals at Lake Placid and Los Angeles in 1932.[14] Following the 1928 Olympics in Amsterdam Roxborough commented about the publicity value of these athletic achievements:

> And what favourable publicity is created by success at these contests! At the 1924 Olympiad, little Finland was second amongst the world's nations in track and field athletics and the prowess of Nurmi, Ritola, Myyra, Stenroos, and Lehtonen aroused a respect and admiration for the country that produced them, that money or armaments could not have secured. Canada, too, with the recent triumphs of Williams, Ball, Fitzpatrick, Edwards, Pickard, Wright, Ault, Spence, Stockton, Smillie and its women world's champions have advertised to every people the speed and endurance of the Dominion's children. Prof. T. H. Loudon, prominent Canadian rowing coach recently said: "Nothing Canada has done since the war has placed her so much in the limelight in Europe. We have been sensationally represented by a class of boys who were a credit to their country and an advertisement of inestimable value."[15]

Canadian achievement in international sport was not confined to the Olympic Games. Joe Wright Jr., Jack Guest, and Bob Pearce won the Diamond Sculls, emblematic of world supremacy in singles rowing, three times in four years from 1928 to 1931.[16] Jimmy McLarnin of Vancouver captured the world's welterweight boxing championship from Corbett in 1933 and recaptured it in 1934 by defeating Barney Ross of Chicago.[17] Jack Purcell of Toronto was recognized as the best singles badminton player in the world during the 1930's,[18] and the Edmonton Grads were world-famous for their outstanding success in basketball.[19] The list of Canadian athletic achievements was extensive.

Canada received its greatest international recognition in the game of hockey. Without a doubt, during the 1920's and 1930's Canada was supreme in its national winter sport, for only in 1936 did it fail to capture the Olympic title. That year, England, bolstered with several players who learned their hockey in Canada including Jimmy Foster of Winnipeg who starred in the nets, defeated Canada in a preliminary round by a score of two to one and consequently won the gold medal.[20] In addition, starting in 1930 when Canada first entered the world hockey championships, conducted in the non-Olympic years, it lost the title just once (to the U.S.A.) before World War II broke out.[21]

After the first Winter Olympics in 1920 in which Canada defeated the U.S.A. two to zero and then trounced Czechoslovakia fifteen to zero and Sweden twelve to one , Europe recognized Canada as the centre of ice hockey:

> Europe did not get its first "eyeful" of hockey, as it should be played, until 1920, when the Winnipeg Falcons, Dominion champions, competed in the first world's championship at Antwerp. In winning every game decisively, their sudden bursts of speed and quick stops so impressed Europeans that the latter actually searched their boots and skates for the electrical energy which they thought made such skating possible.[22]

In 1921 Canada was invited to send a team to the international hockey matches which were to be played in Stockholm, Sweden. Teams were entered from Sweden, Belgium, Switzerland, Czechoslovakia, and France. Although Canada was unable to send a representative on such short notice it was significant that it had been invited to participate.[23]

Following the 1924 Winter Olympics in Chamonix, France, the growing European interest in hockey was indicated by the fact that most countries were in favour of increasing the number of points awarded to hockey. Of the seventeen participating countries only Sweden was opposed to awarding more points for hockey than other sports such as figure-skating, bob-sledding, and curling.[24]

During the twenties and thirties Canadian hockey teams frequently toured Europe, and many Canadians took up residence overseas, coaching and playing for European teams. About the diplomatic benefits derived from Canada's hockey players in Europe Fred Edwards commented:

> In spite of the pictures you see in the rotogravure sections of the week-end newspapers, all Canadian ambassadors do not wear high hats. Besides the middle-aged gentlemen who put on knee breeches, silk stockings, and trick hats to get themselves presented at Court, and who are always having their photographs taken shaking hands with princes and prime ministers on the decks of palatial liners or in dingy railroad stations, there is every year in Europe a sizeable delegation of robustious young Canucks who go over tourist or work their way on freighters, and who roam up and down a dozen lands of Continental Europe spreading the fame of Canada and the Canadian people, causing nice things to be printed about Canada and Canadians in numerous queer looking foreign publications.[25]

Not only were there tours of various Canadian hockey teams such as the Ottawa Shamrocks and Saskatoon Quakers, but also there was a steady flow of Canadian hockey players "...lured from their home ice by shrewd foreign promoters eager to enlist the benefits of their playing skill...".[26] Paris, Berlin, Venice, Milan, Prague, St. Moritz, Zurich, Basle, Berne, Stockholm, Oslo, and Budapest were but a few of the European cities in which hockey had become extremely popular by 1934. During the winter, in the business sections of these ancient cities, store windows were often filled with Canadian-made hockey equipment prominently displayed among brightly coloured group photographs of famous Canadian hockey teams such as the Montreal Canadiens, the Toronto Maple Leafs, or the Moncton Hawks.[27]

Howie Grant, a Canadian hockey player who played the 1933 season for a hockey team in Prague stated that Canadians were well liked in European hockey circles. The players, whether individuals or in touring teams were "...heartily welcomed everywhere, lavishly entertained, widely publicized, and generally admired". The Ottawa Shamrocks and Saskatoon Quakers who toured Europe in 1933 drew large crowds. Both tours were well managed, and the players were warmly praised for their fast hockey and their gentlemanly conduct on and off the ice.[28]

During the first half of the 1920's hockey was confined to European regions like the Scandinavian countries and the Swiss Alps where natural ice conditions existed, but with the development of the manufacturing of artificial ice rapidly, at low cost and in almost unlimited quantity, ice surfaces sprung up throughout Europe. As a result, the game of hockey acquired an even greater popularity.[29] With the construction of artificial ice surfaces and the assistance of Canadian hockey players the calibre of hockey in Europe rose quickly. Following his 1938 continental tour with the Sudbury Wolves, Cecil Duncan, a former president of the C.A.H.A. prophetically reported: "Hockey in Europe is developing very rapidly, and it will not be long before we will have to acknowledge that their teams are every bit as good as our own."[30]

Although the standard of hockey in Europe had risen by the end of the 1930's, touring Canadian hockey teams still were received with enthusiasm. When the 1938 professional hockey season ended, the Detroit Red Wings and the Montreal Canadiens barnstormed England and France, and though the fans paid up to five dollars for one ticket, the rinks were frequently sold out. "In Paris, 9,000 Frenchmen exchanged francs for hockey pasteboards." So successful was the venture that the same clubs were invited to return in 1939 and play a twenty-game tour in England, France, Scotland, Germany, Belgium, and Switzerland.[31]

Through the game of hockey Canada gained recognition from other parts of the world, especially Europe. The success of Canadian teams in international competition, the frequent tours of Canadians, and the presence of Canadians coaching and playing hockey all served to create in Europe an awareness of Canada.

In contrast to its isolationist policy in foreign affairs adopted during the inter-war period, Canada was extremely active in international sport, for it sent relatively large contingents to the Olympics, entered athletes in numerous other international events as well as sending them on tours, sought a stronger voice in international sport councils, assumed a leadership role in starting the British Empire Games, and generated enthusiasm for hockey in several European countries. These positive steps combined with Canada's surprising success in international sport seemed to partially atone for the country's reluctance to become involved in world affairs.

British Interaction

In 1931 Canada's climb from the "valley of colonialism to autonomy" culminated in the passing of the Statute of Westminster by the Imperial Parliament. Great Britain renounced its legal right to legislate for the Dominions,[32] and the 1926 Balfour declaration of equality of status was officially implemented.[33]

Although Canada achieved autonomy in 1931, this country was still closely bound to Britain and to the Commonwealth through trade and tradition. At the Imperial Conference in Ottawa in 1931 intra-Commonwealth trade was the main topic of discussion as positive steps were taken to create a larger volume of mutually profitable trade among the different units of the Commonwealth.[34] By 1935 the results of these trade negotiations were evident, for in that year 51.8% of Canada's exports went to the Commonwealth, the highest percentage since the war time concentration of exports to Great Britain.[35]

British tradition was still strong in Canada. On New Year's Day, 1934, titles were restored in the Dominion,[36] and Canadians took great pride in the knighting of Dr. Frederick Grant Banting, the discoverer of insulin, and Charles Edward Saunders, the developer of four new varieties of wheat.[37] In 1935 Canadians enthusiastically celebrated the silver jubilee of the accession of King George V and Queen Mary to the throne.[38] The next year when King George V died all of Canada went into mourning with the cancellation of many scheduled events which included several sports fixtures.[39] Then the entire country listened intently to Edward's emotional farewell to the Empire as he abdicated from the throne in 1936.[40] When Edward's successor, King George VI, toured Canada in 1939 he received a resounding welcome wherever he went. In Winnipeg, a crowd estimated at 100,000 greeted the King during his visit to the prairie city. Finally, in 1939, the bond between Canada and Britain was manifested by Canada's entrance into World War II to support Britain in its conflict with Germany.

Glazebrook stated that it was not just "sentiment" that was the tenuous link of Empire nor was it only trade, but rather it was the recognition of a considerable degree of common interest that caused the peoples of the Commonwealth to maintain their novel relationship.[41] Sport was an important element in this common interest and consequently acted as a vehicle for maintenance of the Canadian tie with Britain and with other countries of the Commonwealth during the 1921 to 1939 time period.

Throughout Canadian history British sports such as rugby, cricket, lawn bowling, golf, polo, rowing, soccer, tennis, curling, and horse racing occupied the recreational time of a great number of British Canadians. In fact, in 1867 cricket was competing with lacrosse for recognition as Canada's national sport. However, with the withdrawal of the British garrisons in the early 1870's and the increasing influence of the United States in all aspects of Canadian life there was a gradual Americanization of sport within Canada. By the end of World War I many ethnic groups in Canada were participating in traditional British games, but still sport played an important role in preserving the Canadian-British connection.

From the 1830's onwards in Britain the games movement or athleticism developed within the Public Schools to the extent that it was said that the Battle of Waterloo was won on the playing fields of Eton. This concept of character building through games extended into Canadian education. At a meeting of the Ontario Educational Association at Queen's University in 1921,[42] the Rev. D. Bruce MacDonald eulogized the functions of clean athletics in developing mankind in accord with the highest human ideals while Major-General Sir A. C. MacDonald, Commandent of the R.M.C., emphasized the far-reaching influence of sport in the sterner and wilder game of life. Furthermore, MacDonald condemned and deplored the influence of professionalism on Canadian sport stating that making a business of a sport was losing sight of the main object of its existence. Thus the continual battle that waged between advocates of amateur and professional sport throughout the 1920's and 1930's in Canada was founded upon a traditional British viewpoint of the value of games.

Other aspects of the British influence upon sport in Canada were far less controversial. Throughout the entire inter-war period Canadian interest was high in Old Country sports. The major newspapers across the country gave frequent and extensive coverage of British sports, especially soccer and cricket results. Touring teams from Britain or other parts of the Empire were heartily welcomed. The Scottish soccer team drew a record crowd of 9,000 in its game in Winnipeg in 1921,[43] and an equally high interest was shown in every Canadian city where the Scots played.

An article written by Fred Wilson in The Globe and Mail in 1927 indicated the value of "sport as a bond of Empire":

> A large party of British lawn bowlers are now in Canada, and will appear here tomorrow. Next Wednesday the British women's Wightman Cup tennis team for the international matches with the United States will be in this city for exhibition matches. Canadian golf seniors are returning from their tournament play with the British and United States seniors in England. Joe Wright is just back from Royal Henley, and a Canadian soccer team is in New Zealand. A Scottish soccer team has just completed a trans-Canada tour. An Englishman, Barry, and an Australian, Goodsell will row at Vancouver shortly for the pro sculling championship. The tour of the British curlers last winter as a return visit of the Canadian junket to the Old Country was another addition to the long list of sport fixtures which are doing a great deal to strengthen the friendly ties between the "little patches of red".[44]

During the early years of the depression sports tours within the Empire continued, but at a declerated rate. However, as the depression began to lift around 1935, there was a corresponding increase in sporting interaction within the Commonwealth. Sports editor of The Globe and Mail, Tommy Munns, noted in 1937 that visits from British athletes were weekly events.[45]

Although most British sports in Canada gradually found supporters and participants from all ethnic groups, cricket still remained almost exclusively British as, in fact, it is today. In 1930 the membership of the Toronto cricket league was predominantly English with the following breakdown:[46]

English	334
Canadian	74
Scottish	28
West Indies	22
Irish	18
Welsh	12
U.S.A., Australia, New Zealand, South Africa, India, China	15

Interest was maintained in the game through international tours such as the visit of the Australian cricket team, featuring Don Bradman and seven more Test Match players in 1932.[47] As well, Canadian cricket teams toured Britain and other parts of the Empire. In Canada the Trinity College versus Ridley College cricket match approximated the annual Eton versus Harrow match in England.[48] Indeed, many of the Canadian private schools were similar to the public schools of England and maintained British tradition. Private schools such as Upper Canada College, Trinity College School, Ridley College, and St. Andrew's College in Ontario were observed as having features of the British Public schools--house system, prefects, residential structure, school 'first' teams and colors--together with a firm belief in the importance of team games in moulding school boy character. Although cricket declined in some centres after the First World War, it retained its high status within the sports programs of the private schools[49] and hence served to maintain the British connection.

The Canadian-British tie, fortified by sporting interaction, was not just a "one-way street". Canadian sports, hockey in particular, drew Canadians to the attention of the British. During the 1920's and 1930's Canada introduced hockey to several European countries, including Britain. As Canadian hockey teams, passing through London on their way to the Continent for the international championships, started playing against English teams spectator interest increased rapidly. Gradually players came over from Canada; teams were formed; and a regular schedule of games started. When Wembly Sports Arena with a seating capacity of 10,000 opened in 1934 only 1,000 seats were filled, but within one year hockey teams were playing before "full houses".[50] The British Ice Hockey Association limited the number of players on each team to 10, and of those, 2 had to have been born in the Old Country or have resided there for 5 years. Without Canadian players, hockey could not have survived in England.

Not only did the British import Canadian hockey players, but also they acquired some of the habits of the Canadian hockey fan:

> While the game has remained pretty much in its raw Canadian state its followers have undergone radical development. The polite, hand-clapping smattering of spectators who a few years ago expressed shocked surprise at rough play have become the most jeering, cheering, partisan, knock-em-down, drag-em-out crowd of rooters this side of Montreal.[51]

Probably the strongest bond of Empire achieved through sport was the founding of the British Empire Games in 1930. The vision of a Canadian, M. M. Robinson; the practical enthusiasm of the citizens of Hamilton; the organizing ability and efforts of such a national leader as E. W. Beatty; the approval and support of outstanding Imperialists (Lords Desborough, Lonsdale, Rothermere and Beaverbrook, the Earl of Derby, Sir George McLaren Brown, Sir Campbell Stuart, Sir Ian Colquhoun, Sir Arthur Currie, Sir Robert Falconer, and E. W. Beatty),[52] together with the co-operation of the athletic associations of Great Britain and the Dominions made the Empire Games possible.[53]

The city of Hamilton, the site of the first British Empire Games, demonstrated its enthusiasm by constructing the largest swimming pool in Canada at a cost of $110,000; by expending $33,000 on increasing the seating accommodation at the stadium to 16,000 persons; by contributing an additional $25,000 toward the organization and operation of the Games; and by undertaking to house and feed 500 of the competitors.[54] Hamilton's efforts were well-rewarded as the first British Empire Games were an "unqualified success"--not even rain could dampen the enthusiasm of the fans at Hamilton as the spirit of Empire breathed over the 18,000 who turned out to see the track and field events ring down the curtain of the Empire Games.[55]

After the 1934 British Empire Games in London, Roxborough wrote the following article emphasizing the Empire binding qualities of the Games:

> How do you make an imperialist? Possibly there are many answers, but after attending the Empire Games I can suggest one thoroughly tested recipe.

> Take a youthful Canadian sport champion; mix him, or her, with the athletic leaders from all other parts of the Empire; stir thoroughly in the capital of the British Commonwealth of nations; add a colorful parade with bands playing, flags flying through the air; make a filling of patriotic speeches, a visit to the House of Parliament, a tour of the Tower, and inspection of the Crown jewels, a banquet at Cafe Monica, and a dance at the beautiful Goldsmith's Hall; add another layer of keen sport competition, mount the champions on a dais, slowly raise the victor's national flag, secure the Guards' Band to play the national anthem while thirty thousand spectators stand unhatted. Then, over all this substantial foundation, spread a message from His Majesty the King, an invitation to St. James Palace and a personal individual, hand-shaking welcome from none other than His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales. If the result isn't a keen, loyal four-star imperialist, then the first ingredient must have been a spy.[56]

The spirit of goodwill and fellowship that prevailed at the British Empire Games certainly justified their existence, for social ties were developed that tended to seal more strongly the bonds of the Commonwealth.

Indeed, the sporting interaction of Canada with Britain and the Commonwealth seemed to produce a common bond among the "little patches of red" that assumed an even greater significance as the Dominions rose from the "valley of colonialism to autonomy".

American Interaction

Careless stated that relations with the U.S.A. had been satisfactory since at least the start of the First World War and that the citizens of the two countries had been building a lasting friendship from the 1870's on. "Yet in general," he wrote, "the government of the U.S.A. had ignored Canada ever since it dropped any ideas of annexation. There was little thought of a 'good neighbour policy' with Canada in American government circles until Franklin D. Roosevelt came to the presidency in 1933."[57]

In fact, in the late 1920's a strong anti-American sentiment arose as a result of several incidents. The high tariff wall imposed by

Hoover in 1929, the Chicago "water-steal", the sinking of the I'm Alone, and the fear that American capital was buying out Canada body and soul all sparked anti-American feeling.[58] The hostility towards the U.S.A. was expressed openly during the 1930 Federal election when the press emphasized that Canada's future in trade lay with the British Empire, not the U.S.A.[59]

Canadian antagonism towards the U.S.A. diminished after Franklin D. Roosevelt became president in 1933. About a month after Roosevelt's inauguration, Canada's prime minister, R. B. Bennett, was invited to join some of the world's leading statesmen in a concerted effort to end economic chaos.[60] Canadian-American relations were further improved in 1935 when Roosevelt and King signed a reciprocal trade agreement.[61] Further mutually beneficial trade treaties were negotiated in 1937[62] and in 1938.[63]

In his Chatauqua speech of August 14, 1936, Roosevelt spoke of the readiness of the U.S.A. to defend itself and its neighbourhood. Two years later, in August, 1938, when receiving an honorary degree from Queen's University, the President made his reference more explicit by stating that the U.S.A. would not stand idly by and see Canada attacked. In return, King promised reciprocity in defence. Finally, in 1940, "the coping stone to the edifice..." was supplied by the Ogdensburg Agreement which set up a Permanent Joint Board on Defence for the two countries.[64]

This fluctuation in Canadian-American relations in politics seemed to have little influence upon the two countries' interaction in sport. Common leagues, both amateur and professional, the exchange of athletes and coaches, and the numerous special sporting events all continued with regular frequency regardless of the general Canadian-American disposition. As previously illustrated, each region of Canada looked to the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. for competition, sometimes to the detriment of regional interaction in sport within the country. Canadians were intensely interested in American professional sport and with the development of the radio and wire services were able to receive play-by-play accounts of the major sports events south of the border.

In fact, after World War I there was a growth in the Americanization of Canadian sport. Both commercial or industrial sport and professional sport in the form of "big business" were initiated in the U.S.A. and crept across the border into Canada at an accelerated rate during the 1920's. The increase of American investment in Canada[65] and the growth of urbanization during the decade of the "roaring twenties" acted as catalysts to these trends.

The influence of the U.S.A. was felt in most sports. Canadian football succumbed to American influence with the introduction of the forward pass and running interference into the rules as well as with the heavy importation of American football players. Lacrosse, too, underwent changes with the American form of box-lacrosse becoming popular in Canada in the early 1930's.[66] Even horse racing was subject to American influence with U.S.A. officials controlling several important race meets.[67] Numerous other examples of the growth of the Americanization of Canadian sport have already been cited in earlier chapters.

John Fairfax, writing in The Canadian Forum in 1940, blamed Canada's susceptibility to American influence in sport to a sense of inferiority towards the U.S.A. which he referred to as "Canada's colonial complex".[68] About the trend towards professional sport at the "big-business" level he stated:

> There is no need to discuss here what professionalization has done to sport. It is, of course, the creation of a profit-motive economy, served effectively by a commercialized press. Our professional sport heroes are literally paper celebrities. They are the creatures of the newspaper build-up, and would collapse like cardboard statues if press support were withdrawn. The point is that Canada was not compelled to follow this particular North American trend. Granted a more-or-less common continental environment whose influence in certain directions it would be folly to resist, even a small measure of self-reliance and self-respect would have enabled Canada to retain her amateur standing. But no; the colonial complex made it inevitable that we follow the lead of our Great Neighbor. We wanted to grow up just like our big brother, copying his faults as well as his virtues.[69]

Fairfax went on to point out that Canadians, with characteristic imitativeness, had abandoned lacrosse for baseball and then later revived the game in the form of box-lacrosse, "...a pale and anaemic remnant of the vigorous exciting sport which was once Canada's national game".[70] Ice hockey was another indigenous North American sport which had been played as an amateur game from the early days in Canada:

> But it was not until the United States took up hockey in its latter-day professionalized form that Canadians began to get really enthusiastic about it. Now Canadian hockey teams are feeders for the big league teams across the line, in the diverting process by which sportsmen are bought and sold like African slaves, exhibiting the while that naive inflation of the ego and craving for the spotlight seen in most mentally underdeveloped persons when placed on a pedestal by organized publicity.[71]

One certainly cannot attribute the Americanization of Canadian sport solely to "Canada's colonial complex", nevertheless the air of Canadian inferiority towards the U.S.A. certainly created an atmosphere conducive to the infiltration of American ideas and practices into Canadian sport.

Canada, a fledgling country, economically dependent upon the U.S.A., tended to follow in the footsteps of its neighbour to the south in the realm of sport.

Summary

During the 1920's and 1930's Canada travelled the road from colonialism to autonomy while at the same time the country adopted an isolationist policy in foreign affairs. In contrast to this non-commital policy, Canada was extremly active in international sport, sending relatively large contingents to the Olympics, entering athletes in numerous other international events, seeking a stronger voice in international sport councils, and promoting hockey in many European countries.

The role of sport in Canada's relationship with Britain was especially noteworthy. As Canada moved from colonialism to autonomy, sport acted as a vehicle for the maintenance of the Canadian tie with Britain and the rest of the Empire. The presence of British concepts in physical eduation and amateur sport, the press coverage of British sport, the frequent exchange of touring teams, the popularity of many traditional British sports, the introduction of hockey into Britain, and the inauguration of the British Empire Games all helped to preserve the bond between Canada and other parts of the Empire.

In its relationship with the U.S.A., Canada's "colonial complex" was clearly seen in sport, for Canadians seemed to be willing to follow the lead of the U.S.A., even when anti-American feelings were high. Athletes and coaches were imported from the U.S.A., and American rules were incorporated into the Canadian codes. In addition, each region of Canada depended upon the adjacent area of the U.S.A. for competition.

Most noteworthy of all was the fact that by 1939 commercial or industrial sport and professional sport, both of which had originated in the U.S.A, had become an accepted part of the pattern of sport in Canada.

FOOTNOTES

[1] Hugh L. Keenleyside *et al.*, *The Growth of Canadian Policies in External Affairs* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1960), p. 8.

[2] James Eayrs, "'A Low Dishonest Decade': Aspects of Canadian External Policy, 1931-1939," in *The Growth of Canadian Policies in External Affairs*, ed. by Hugh L. Keenleyside *et al*. (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1960), p. 61; hereafter referred to as "A Low Dishonest Decade".

[3] J. M. S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1963), p. 372.

[4] Eayrs, "A Low Dishonest Decade," pp. 64-65.

[5] *Ibid*., p. 67.

[6] Careless, *op. cit*., p. 373.

[7] *Ibid*., p. 375.

[8] H. H. Roxborough, "Are Olympic Games Worth While?" *Maclean's*, November 1, 1928, pp. 9, 52; hereafter referred to as "Are Olympic Games Worth While?"

[9] Johan Louw, "Canada's Participation at the Olympic Games" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1971), p. 146.

[10] Minutes of the 42nd Annual Meeting of the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada held in Hamilton, Ontario, September 12-14, 1929, p. 39.

[11] Jacob Agbogun, "A History of the British Commonwealth Games, 1930-1966" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970), p. 7.

[12] *The Globe and Mail*, August 13, 1924.

[13] *Ibid*., July 19, 1937.

[14] Louw, *op. cit*., pp. 140, 116.

[15] Roxborough, "Are Olympic Games Worth While?" p. 55.

[16] See pp. 93-94.

[17] Trent Frayne and Peter Gzowski, Great Canadian Sport Stories (Toronto: The Canadian Centennial Publishing Co., 1965), p. 96.

[18] J. Lewis Brown, "Badminton, the Fastest Indoor Court Game," National Home Monthly, March, 1935, p. 43.

[19] Nancy Howell and Maxwell L. Howell, Sports and Games in Canadian Life--1700 to the Present (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1969), p. 317.

[20] The Globe and Mail, February 12, 1936.

[21] Howell and Howell, op. cit., p. 210.

[22] H. H. Roxborough, "Hockey Export," Maclean's, January 1, 1939, p. 6; hereafter referred to as "Hockey Export".

[23] The Globe and Mail, January 5, 1921.

[24] Ibid., February 5, 1924.

[25] Frederick Edwards, "Envoys on Ice," Maclean's, October 15, 1934, p. 8.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid.

[28] Ibid., p. 50.

[29] Ibid., p. 8.

[30] Roxborough, "Hockey Export," p. 6.

[31] Ibid.

[32] Donald Creighton, A History of Canada: Dominion of the North (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The Riverside Press, 1958), p. 484.

[33] G. P. de T. Glazebrook, A History of Canadian External Relations (Vol. II, revised edition; Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1966), p. 91; hereafter referred to as A History of Canadian External Relations.

[34] The Globe and Mail, July 18, 1932.

[35] __Winnipeg Free Press__, April 27, 1936.

[36] __Ibid__., June 3, 1935.

[37] __Ibid__., June 4, 1934.

[38] __Ibid__., May 7, 1935.

[39] __The Globe and Mail__, January 21, 1936.

[40] __Winnipeg Free Press__, December 12, 1936.

[41] Glazebrook, __op. cit__., pp. 89-90.

[42] __The Globe and Mail__, March 29, 1921.

[43] __Winnipeg Free Press__, January 1, 1921.

[44] __The Globe and Mail__, July 22, 1927.

[45] __Ibid__., August 2, 1937.

[46] __Ibid__., March 14, 1931.

[47] __Ibid__., February 13, 1932.

[48] __Ibid__., June 10, 1973.

[49] G. G. Watson, "Sport and Games in Ontario Private Schools" (unpublished M. A. thesis, University of Alberta, Edmonton, 1970).

[50] Frank Holt, "Ice Hockey, By Jove!" __Maclean's__, March 1, 1936, p. 14.

[51] __The Chronicle Herald__, December 5, 1938.

[52] H. H. Roxborough, "An Empire Olympiad," __Maclean's__, August 1, 1930, p. 5.

[53] __Ibid__., p. 48.

[54] __Ibid__., p. 5.

[55] The Globe and Mail, August 25, 1930.

[56] H. H. Roxborough, "Title Hunting," Maclean's, October 1, 1934, p. 43.

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[58] P. E. Corbett, "Anti-Americanism," The Dalhousie Review, Vol. X, 1930-31, pp. 296-97.

[59] The Globe and Mail, July 14, 1930.

[60] Ibid., April 24, 1933.

[61] Winnipeg Free Press, November 16, 1935.

[62] The Globe and Mail, January 24, 1937.

[63] The Chronicle Herald, January 29, 1938.

[64] Arthur R. M. Lower, Colony to Nation: A History of Canada (Toronto: Longmans, Green and Company, 1957), p. 548.

[65] Glazebrook, A History of Canadian External Relations, p. 31.

[66] Leslie Roberts, "Americanizing Canadian Sport," pp. 8, 41.

[67] Douglas Eppes, "Canadian Racing--Whither?" p. 11.

[68] John Fairfax, "Canada's Colonial Complex--Sports," The Canadian Forum, October, 1940, p. 213.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid., p. 214.

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CHAPTER VI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The trends in the development of sport in Canada during the 1921 to 1939 time period were related to the many economic, political and social changes that occurred between the two world wars.

Canada developed along regional lines with each of British Columbia, the Prairie Provinces, Quebec, and the Maritime Provinces protecting its own interests and blaming Ontario, the industrial and commercial heart of Canada, for the many problems plaguing the country. Western Canada was a main source of discontent both in politics and in sport. Some of the friction between East and West was created by the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada which was dominated by eastern officials. The West complained about the restrictive amateur code, broken promises, and favouritism towards the East. Whenever the West engaged in athletic combat with the East an intense interest was generated, and a western victory was cause for much rejoicing. It was in Canadian football that the East-West antipathy was best exemplified, and the annual Grey Cup game was a widely publicized event especially after the calibre of football in the West became comparable to that of the East.

When Westerners referred to the "East" they were actually alluding to Eastern Ontario and Southwestern Quebec (Upper Canada), not the entire area of Eastern Canada. In fact, the Maritime Provinces expressed complaints similar to those voiced in the West and resented the control that Upper

Canada exerted over their sporting destiny.

In Quebec, French Canadian sectionalism was expressed through sport for the French Canadians rallied their support behind specific teams that opposed the English teams in la belle province. The French-Canadians usually looked within their own province for competition with others of the same tongue while the English-speaking, centred around Montreal, depended upon their counterparts in Ontario for athletic contests.

Each region of Canada found it more expedient to interact with the adjacent areas of the U.S.A. rather than to travel long distances within the country for competition. Improvements made in the automobile and roads facilitated intra-regional competition, but air travel, a faster and more convenient form of transportation, was still unavailable to athletes by the end of the 1930's, for they continued to endure long tedious train trips across Canada to play in national championships. The majority of national events were staged in the heavily populated areas of Eastern Ontario and Southwestern Quebec placing western and maritime athletes at a disadvantage since their performances usually suffered from the long journey by rail.

Because of the great distances across Canada inter-regional competition was usually confined to national championships and contests between adjacent regions. Only once during the period was there a record of British Columbia and the Maritimes, both centres of English rugby, meeting each other upon the playing field, and that occurred in 1927-28 when the Dalhousie University team made a tour of British Columbia. Likewise, there was limited interaction in sport between other regions of the country that were geographically isolated from each other.

Although there were common characteristics, the development of sport in Canada differed from region to region. In British Columbia there was an exceptionally strong British tradition demonstrated by the popularity of English rugby, cricket, soccer, lawn bowling, badminton, and rowing as well as by the frequency of the tours of teams from different parts of the Empire. Unlike other parts of the country there was a large Japanese population, and as a result, British Columbia enjoyed competition with visitors from Japan in rugger and baseball. The mild climate along the Pacific coast was conducive to a long season in outdoor activities like golf and rugger while the mountains provided ideal skiing conditions throughout the winter months. During the depression British Columbia started an unique program--the Provincial-Recreation Program--to provide recreational activity for unemployed youth. In the ten years following the inauguration of the project in 1934, inquiries were received about the plan from all provinces in Canada, from different parts of the U.S.A., and from England, Scotland, Australia, and South America. British Columbia proved to be a progressive region within Canada, actively interacting in sport with countries of the Empire, the adjacent areas of the U.S.A., and the Orient. By virtue of its geographical isolation this province was forced to be self-sufficient in sport, often looking outside of Canadian territory for competition.

The Prairie Provinces were alike in many ways: they endured the same frigid climate, they depended upon wheat production; they were severely affected by the depression; they despised domination by the East; and they shared a similar pattern of sport. In the winter with natural ice conditions existing, hockey and curling were the favourite activities while indoor sports such as bowling, badminton, and basketball grew in popularity as the trend towards indoor winter sport was particularly evident in the prairie cities. During the summer months a wide variety of activities were played with baseball, softball, golf, and Canadian football getting special attention. Even though distances were great within the prairie region itself, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba formed a sporting unit, competing among themselves in hockey, baseball, and football leagues. Because of the expense of travelling combined with the severe effects of the depression, teams in the Prairie Provinces found it financially difficult to operate, and professional sport was unable to function successfully in this sparsely populated region. Just as the Prairie Provinces were susceptible to political change, so too they were open to experimentation in sport, introducing new rules like the forward pass in football. In addition, the three provinces were bound together by a mutual feeling of hostility towards the East. Through sport they were able to publicly express their resentment.

As well as being the industrial and commercial heart of Canada, Ontario, with approximately one-third of the country's population during the inter-war period was the centre of Canadian sport. Sports governing bodies like the Amateur Athletic Union of Canada and the Canadian Rugby Union, dominated by eastern representatives, were able to foist their will upon Western Canada and the Maritimes. When the West initiated rule changes in sports like football and hockey or requested revision in the amateur code it was usually encountered with opposition from the more conservative Eastern Ontario which seemed to be protecting its own sectional interests. Rule changes did occur, but only after Ontario was firmly convinced of their value. Several of the trends noted in the development of Canadian sport emerged from the expanding urban areas of Ontario. The growth of commercial or industrial sport, the "big business" approach to professional sport, the increased participation of women in athletics, and the move towards indoor winter sport all gained momentum in Ontario. Furthermore, the majority of Canada's outstanding athletes came from Ontario, and a large percentage of the positions on international teams were occupied by Ontario competitors.

As the hub of Canadian sport, Ontario was subject to strong external influences both from Britain and the U.S.A. On the one hand, Ontario had a strong British tradition reflected in the popularity of a wide variety of sports of British origin such as soccer, cricket, rowing, golf, track and field, sailing, tennis, lawn-bowling, shooting, rugger, badminton, curling, and horse racing, while on the other hand, this province was vulnerable to the infiltration of American ideas and approaches into sport because of the proximity of large U.S.A. cities. Ontario, featured by an intermingling of British and American sports and concepts often set precedents in Canadian sport that other regions of the country followed.

Quebec was unique in that there were two distinct groups, the French Canadians and the English Canadians, with the French outnumbering the English. As a result, sport developed along separate lines with the English interacting with Eastern Ontario and the French generally competing among themselves. Basically, the sports interests of French Canadians were similar to those of the rest of Canada, but there were some characteristics that differed somewhat from the normal pattern. The two combative sports, boxing and wrestling, seemed to attract more attention than they did in other parts of Canada. During the winter months snow-shoeing occupied a more prominent role in the physical activity of French Canadians in Quebec than it did in other regions of the country. Winter carnivals, featuring sports like snow-shoeing and hockey were important events in the social life of the French Canadians.

After World War I the spread of industry had been transforming parts of the old rural world of New France into areas of crowded cities and factories. In these urban centres of Quebec the "old and traditional" was rapidly succumbing to the "new and modern" during the 1920's and 1930's. The growth of American influence in urban Quebec, evident in the acceptance of commercial sport and professional sport in the form "big business", symbolized this rejection of French Canadian tradition.

The Maritime Provinces, like the Prairie Provinces, had much in common: they were located near the sea with a similar climate and geography; they shared a common British heritage; they were closely linked to the New England States; they were wedded to the soil; and they experienced similar economic problems. As also noted in the other four regions of Canada, the Maritimes functioned as a sporting unit. Maritime championships in sports such as hockey, baseball, track and field, curling, and rugger were held regularly and inter-provincial leagues operated. The strong British tradition in the Atlantic Provinces resulted in a keen interest in sports like rugger and curling. At the same time, the Scottish influence could be readily seen by observing the popularity of the Caledonian games throughout the region. Partially because of the unfavourable economic conditions and the absence of large cities in the

Maritime Provinces, professional sport generally suffered whereas amateur sport prospered. The Atlantic Provinces shared similar interests in sport and were able to compete among themselves and the neighbouring New England States, sometimes oblivious to the sports events further inland.

The pattern of sport that evolved in Canada from 1921 to 1939 was the product of a wide variety of interacting technological, social, political, and economic factors. Technology, urbanization, religion, education, the depression, and World War II all played a significant role in the development of sport.

Technological progress in transportation and communication systems as well as facilities and equipment affected sport. Although inter-regional competition was still hampered by the absence of rapid air travel in 1939, the expansion of railroads within each region certainly enhanced the staging of local events. The growth in the popularity of skiing during the 1930's was partially the result of improved rail services into ski resort areas. Furthermore, the acceptance of the automobile and the construction of roads also facilitated intra-regional competition in almost every imaginable sport. The automobile proved to be a mechanical ally of golf, for it enabled popular clubs to locate twenty or thirty miles from business centres on cheaper land. In addition, the automobile opened the avenue to an entirely new sport, auto-racing.

Progress in communication systems, namely the wire services of the press and the radio promoted sport in both cities and isolated rural areas. Canadians became better informed about sport in other regions of Canada, in the U.S.A., and in Britain. Professional sport gained impetus from these advancements in communication for both press and radio devoted a large proportion of their space and time to the "moneyed version". Likewise, "pro" sport benefited from technological innovations in facilities. Both artificial ice and floodlighting catered to the comfort and convenience of the spectator, hence drawing larger crowds and increasing gate receipts.

The trend towards indoor winter sport was made possible to a great extent by technological progress in the construction of indoor facilities. Tennis, badminton, cycling, lacrosse, track and field, swimming, and basketball were but a few of the activities that could be conducted inside newly built gymnasia, clubhouses, and arenas. While better facilities were being constructed similar progress was being made in producing safer sports equipment. Inventions like the ski tow made sport more pleasurable for participants and consequently encouraged increased participation in recreational activity.

Technology was inter-related with the trend towards urbanization, for most technological innovations made in sport first appeared in cities and spread from there. Urbanization represented the process by which urban areas emerged and developed out of the interaction of economic, technological, and socio-cultural influences. The trend towards urbanization during the 1920's and 1930's was an influential factor in the development of sport in Canada, especially in Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia where large urban populations resided.

One of the most significant changes in sport related to the urban process was the increase of professional sport as "big business" and the rise of pseudo-amateurism, both of which were detrimental to amateur sport. With the expansion of urban areas there arose a need for organized sport for the average citizen. It was here that the industries that had developed in Canadian cities during and after World War I stepped in to provide leadership. The result was the growth of commercial sport which like professional and "shamateur" sport, became characteristic of urbanization in Canada. Both professional sport as "big business" and commercial sport filtered into Canada from south of the border, and expansion of urban areas in parts of the country created an environment conducive to the spread of American ideas in sport.

Urbanization affected sport in yet another way--it provided an impetus to women's increased involvement in physical activities. As more and more women moved from a rural agrarian society to an urban industrialized society their traditional values were modified. As a result, during the 1920's women ventured further into man's athletic domain by participating in sports such as hockey, soccer, lacrosse, and track and field. Also, during that decade Canadian women organized their own sports governing body and gained world recognition through their achievements in international sport.

Religion was another factor that influenced the development of sport in Canada--both in a negative and a positive manner. The obsolete Sunday observance laws passed by the Federal Government in 1906 restricted Sunday sport, and it was not until the latter half of the 1930's that Canadians began to ignore these laws which inhibited their Sunday activity. On the other hand, churches promoted a wide variety of physical activities by forming leagues, and the Y.M.C.A.'s founded upon religious principles, played a leading role in organizing and promoting sport.

Education at all three stages, primary, secondary, and tertiary also affected sport in Canada both through physical education programs and through interscholastic or intercollegiate athletics. The general movement away from military drill during the 1920's was in keeping with one of the concepts of progressive education--the child should be free to develop naturally with the teacher acting as a guide rather than as a task-master. At the elementary level in the latter half of the 1930's a more child-centred approach to physical education was formally set out in curriculum guides. Although formal program changes in physical education were lacking for intermediate and secondary schools, a more progressive approach to physical education was evident in other ways. Increased emphasis was being placed by physical educators upon those activities, that, learned in early life, could be enjoyed in later years. As well, there was a swing towards extra-curricular activities in an attempt to draw education closer to life. It was here that education made one of its most significant contributions to sport in Canada, for the development of interscholastic sport helped to involve and interest more Canadians in sport.

Universities also made significant contributions to sport in Canada during the 1920's and 1930's. In the early twenties college football and hockey teams were prominent in national senior championships, and even though the standard of senior competition rose above that of the universities by the end of the decade, college teams continued to play in city and regional leagues as well as in their own intercollegiate conferences. As a result, local teams were given an opportunity to utilize the universities' athletic facilities. Graduating university athletes often maintained their connection with sport and provided leadership in their communities either through organizing or coaching.

The economic and social trauma of the depression had profound effects upon sport in Canada. In some instances it stimulated the growth of sport while in other cases it repressed the development. Canada's national winter sport, hockey, was adversely affected by the depression at the professional level with two of the four Canadian teams in the N.H.L. being forced to withdraw because of financial difficulties during the 1930's. The depression struck a more devastating blow at minor professional hockey teams with several teams ceasing operation. Professional baseball suffered a similar fate. In contrast to baseball and hockey, professional wrestling and cycling thrived during the depression possibly because of the lower costs involved, the absence of a long schedule, and the showmanship exhibited. They may also have flourished due to the fact that they were sports that provided a safety valve through which fans could "let off steam".

The question of unemployment was paramount in the minds of many Canadians. Consequently, there was an even greater tendency for athletes to secretly sell their services to pseudo-amateur teams. Few sports escaped the "isidious influence" of professionalism. It is evident that by the end of the 1930's the severe financial conditions of the depression had been a significant factor in the establishment of "shamateur" sport in Canada.

During the depression when unemployment rates were as high as 23 per cent, Canadians had an abundance of leisure time. Sport became a favourite pastime for both the spectator and the participant. Although some professional sports failed to draw enough fans to prosper, amateur and "shamateur" sport attracted large crowds even when the unemployment and poverty of the depression was overbearing. Not only did sport provide entertainment for the idle spectator, but also it served as a form of recreation for the participant as many of the unemployed occupied their leisure time playing both impromptu and organized games. The playing of games by the men on relief, the sports in the work camps, and the "pro-rec" movement were all representative of the trend noted during the depression towards "getting into the game" rather than just being a spectator. Increased participation in activities such as softball, badminton, hockey, curling, golf, skiing, and bowling seemed to indicate that Canadians became more active in sport during the depression years. The type of sports played depended largely upon the size of the person's pocket book. The unemployed and farmers tended to choose games like baseball, softball, curling, hockey, rugger, and soccer--sports that required a minimum of expense. Those who could afford to do so gravitated towards sports such as tennis, golf, badminton, sailing, and skiing, while usually only the wealthy could afford to participate in sports like yachting and polo.

World War II terminated the depression. The war was to have profound effects upon sport in Canada, but the immediate reaction was for sports organizations to declare their intentions to continue operation. There were some sports events and programs that were cancelled with the outbreak of war, but these were in the minority. Although there were special war time amateur regulations drawn up, and there was a definite movement towards the creation of military teams and leagues during the first year of World War II, the pattern of sport did not divert much from normal. Realizing the importance of keeping Canadians' morale high during war time the Federal Government offered encouragement for teams and leagues to remain in operation.

Sport also played a significant role in Canada's relationship with other countries. In contrast to its isolationist policy in foreign affairs adopted during the inter-war period, Canada was extremely active in international sport, for it sent relatively large contingents to the Olympics, entered athletes in numerous other international events as well as sending them on tours, sought a stronger voice in international sport councils, assumed a leadership role in starting the British Empire Games, and introduced the game of hockey to several European countries. These positive steps combined with Canada's surprising success in international sport seemed to partially atone for its reluctance to become involved in world affairs.

As Canada achieved autonomy sport played an important role in maintaining a tie with Britain and the rest of the Commonwealth. The presence of British concepts in physical education and amateur sport, the press coverage of British sport, the frequent exchange of touring teams, the popularity of many traditional British sports, the conducting of events like the Caledonian Games, the introduction of hockey into Britain, and the inauguration of the British Empire Games all helped to preserve the bond between Canada and the other countries of the British Commonwealth.

In spite of the fact that anti-American sentiment was prevalent in Canada during the late 1920's and early 1930's and that Canadian-American political relations were unstable until Roosevelt became president in 1933, regular interaction in sport between the two countries continued unhindered. Just as there was a rapid growth of American influence in Canada's economy there was also an increase in the Americanization of Canadian sport during the inter-war period. Athletes and coaches were imported from the U.S.A. and American rules were adopted into the Canadian codes. Each region of Canada actively interacted with the nearby parts of the U.S.A. in sport and depended upon this country for regular competition. Canada also followed the lead of the U.S.A. by implementing commercial or industrial sport and by utilizing a "big business" approach to professional sport. Through sport Canada exhibited its sense of inferiority towards the U.S.A. and its willingness to follow the lead of its great neighbour to the south.

It is evident that the pattern of sport that developed in Canada from 1921 to 1939 was related to the economic, political, and social conditions of the period. During the period under examination sport itself functioned as a social entity which contributed to the evolution of Canadian society.

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